Labor Party Debate At Ohio PAC Parley

See Page 6

Workers Of The World, Unite!

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BIGGEST MARITIME STRIKE FORCES GOVERNMENT TO RESCIND WAGE-CUT

Dobbs Defends Seamen, Drivers In Radio Talk

NEW YORK, Sept. 12—Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of New York, tonight opened his campaign with a powerful radio address in defense of the striking seamen and New York City truckdrivers.

His 15-minute answer to the lies of the capitalist press and his attack on the Democratic and Republican politicians who are aiding the employers, was broadcast over Station WJZ at 10:45 tonight.

Dobbs exposed the "friends-of-labor" pose of the candidates of the Wall Street parties, the Democrats Mead and Lehman and the Republicans Dewey and Ives. He ripped savagely into Mayor O'Dwyer, political henchman of Mead and Lehman, who "was put into office less than a year ago with the workers' votes" and "today is threatening to spill their blood" in the truckdrivers' strike.

TEST OF EVENTS

Even in advance of the elections, Dobbs points out, "living events are testing" the vote-catching promises of the capitalist politicians.

"Where are the voices of Mead and Lehman, of Dewey and Ives, today?" Dobbs asked. "Why have they not said a single word in defense of the seamen and truckdrivers? During their long political careers they have never said one word on behalf of any workers in any strike."

Full Text Of Farrell Dobbs' Radio Address See Page 2

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York Governor charged that "a vast and well-financed propaganda drive has been unleashed to arouse hysteria and turn the people against the strikers."

ANSWERS BOSSES

He replied in detail to the boss propaganda about the strikers being "responsible for shortages." Turning the attack against the bosses, he showed how the monopolists are responsible for real shortages. He contrasted the fact that the capitalist press and boss politicians like O'Dwyer show no indignation about the meat trust cutting off all meat supplies, with the way they attack striking workers.

"If I were Governor," Dobbs stated, "I would make it my first duty to support the picket lines of my fellow workers." At the same time, he said, "I would use every power of office to force the employers to satisfy the full demands of the strikers."

Reuther Hits Attacks On Detroit SWP

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 14—Walter P. Reuther, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers, this week denounced the attempts of anti-labor elements to evict the Socialist Workers Party from its headquarters in Detroit. Reuther's statement was along the lines of a similar public protest made last week by UAW-CIO Vice-President R. J. Thomas. Full text of Reuther's statement follows:

"As President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, I want to add my protest against the forces within the City of Detroit who have banded together in a reactionary drive to force the Socialist Workers Party from its headquarters at 6108 Linwood.

"The latest form of attack, that of trying to force the Socialist Workers Party to vacate its premises because Negroes attended its meetings, is a serious challenge to the fundamental constitutional rights of Americans to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Any such attack must be met on those grounds because the rights of all citizens of this country will be jeopardized if such a precedent can be established by these reactionary forces.

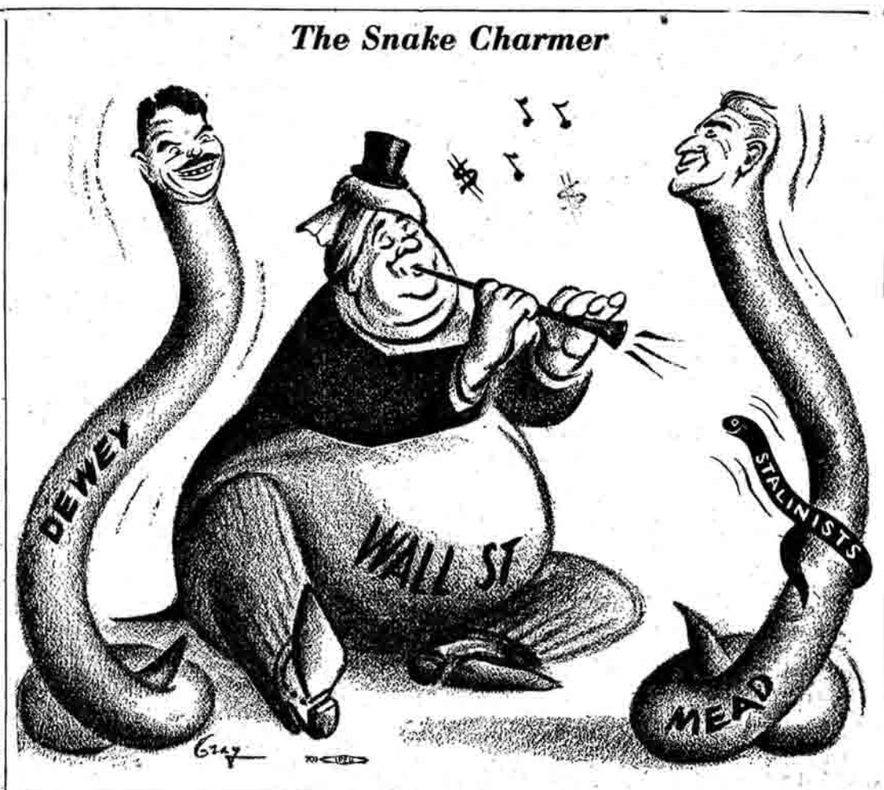
"Labor cannot permit the zoning laws of this city to be utilized for the purpose of discrimination against any individual or organization because of race, creed, color or political affiliation."

Atom Workers Vote 2-1 For Unionism

Workers in two of the three atom bomb plants at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, have voted to have the CIO or AFL represent them in collective bargaining.

The CIO won the election at the second largest plant, run by the Carbide & Chemical Corp., by a vote of 1,918 to 1,893, in a run-off with the AFL. The AFL won at the Monsanto Chemical plant by 331 votes to the CIO's 136. The vote at the Tennessee Eastman plant was 3,120 for "no union" against 2,530 for the AFL.

The Snake Charmer



Stalinists Drop Own Candidates To Back Capitalist Party Slate

NEW YORK, Sept. 14—The withdrawal of candidates of the Communist (Stalinist) Party from the three top places on the New York ballot is "one of the most cowardly and ignominious acts in the political history of this state," the New York State Committee of the Socialist Workers Party declared this week.

Of their original five candidates, the Stalinists left only Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis Jr. on the ballot and switched their candidacy from Governor and U. S. Senator respectively to that of Comptroller and Attorney-General. This move of the Stalinists is part of their drive to put Wall Street's Democratic machine in office.

At the same time, the Democrats are trying to throw the CP completely off the ballot. Louis Cohen, executive assistant to Mayor O'Dwyer and secretary of the Bronx County Democratic Committee, announced he is having the CP's nominating petitions photostated and checked.

"No one can take them seriously now, not even their own members," the SWP Committee continued. "First they sent their members throughout the state in the grueling work of obtaining thousands of signatures to place them on the ballot. Then they raised a storm of protest against reactionary attempts to deprive them of their right to run. All this farce was played out so they could withdraw at the proper moment in favor of the Democratic candidate who brackets them with the Ku Klux Klan.

"The policy of the Communist Party is a blend of hypocrisy and deceit. About a year ago they expelled Earl Browder as an agent of Wall Street. One of his actions as a Wall Street agent was to support Lehman for Governor and Mead for Senator. After purging itself of 'Browderism,' the CP 'reformed.' Today it supports Mead for Governor and Lehman for Senator.

"For months the CP has been denouncing Truman's foreign policy as imperialist, war-mongering and anti-Soviet. They promised to withdraw if the Democrats repudiated Truman's foreign policy. The Democrats wrote a platform that supports Truman lock, stock and barrel. The Stalinists withdrew. Obviously, the way to get Stalinist support is to do the exact opposite of what they demand and give them a public kick in their political posterior."

Stock Market Slump Reveals Wall Street's View Of Future

By Art Preis

As the Truman administration boasts of record-breaking peace-time production and as dividend payments soar to new highs, the stock market ominously clangs an alarm.

A new feverish wave of selling last week tumbled prices on the Stock Exchange. For the second week in a row that barometer of the capitalist system—the stock market quotations—fell sharply.

The landslide unloading by small investors and speculators climaxed a steady drift downward since the May high point. By last week, more than 19 billion dollars of stock values had been liquidated—$9,300,000,000 in the first days of September.

"LOOKS FINE"

Administration spokesmen have responded with a cheery note of "optimism." U. S. Treasury Secretary Snyder on Sept. 11 opined business prospects "look fine." Civilian Production Administrator Small said, "It's all a state of mind."

And RFC Director Allen boomed: "Wonderful! Wonderful! We're going to have a wave of prosperity like you never saw before. And let me tell you this—we're never going to have another depression in this country." (Life magazine, Sept. 9.)

But these economic witch-doctors cannot with a mere pass of their hands wave aside the visible symptoms of malignant disease eating at the vitals of American capitalism.

The Stock Exchange is recording Wall Street's outlook on America's future. As Henry Hazlitt, N. Y. **Times** financial commentator, observed on September 9: "The stock market seldom reflects today's events; it reflects, instead, today's judgment, good or bad, on the long-term future."

"NO CONFIDENCE"

For the "long-term future" of its own system, Wall Street has cast a vote of "No confidence." That is the real meaning of the stock market slide.

The stock market's advance warning of an economic disaster comes when American capitalism stands at the summit of world power. It has crushed the most aggressive of its capitalist rivals abroad. And it boasts of record peace-time economic achievements at home.

On Aug. 30, Civilian Production Administrator Small reported that July production had reached a new all-time peace-time peak. "The stop and go output . . . has now been replaced by coninuous, high-level production," he said. "Industry is within sight of full production of finished goods." Employment has reached the all-time peak of 58,100,000.

EXPORTS BOOM

At the same time, U. S. export trade boomed to heights never known before. "Commercial shipments are expected officially to reach $10,000,000,000 this year. That would top the previous peak of $8,228,000,000 reached in 1920," reports the **United States News**, Sept. 13.

Why, then, does Wall Street vote thumbs down on its own "long-term future."?

First of all, American Big Business has now placed a minus sign beside its hopes for prosperity based on the world market. American productivity, doubled during the war, has outstripped the capacity of a ruined world to buy its products. Not ten billions in exports—but 30 billions was the hope.

The great markets of Europe and Asia are disrupted. The peoples are burdened by colossal debt. Their economy is hopelessly disorganized. Their production stagnates at levels far below the pre-war years.

ADDING IT UP

"What it all adds up to," says the Sept. 5 **World Report**, Big Business weekly of world affairs, "is that odds are against continuance of the present export boom much beyond two or three years."

Where is American capitalism to find an outlet for its monumental accumulation of capital? Where can it invest its idle dollars profitably? Searching the whole world horizon, it sees only black clouds.

Here at home, capitalist economists acknowledge that to

(Continued on Page 7)

IN THE NEWS

A Shot In The Arm For German Capitalists

"FRANKFORT AU MAIN, Sept. 11—As a result of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' speech on the future of Germany at Stuttgart Sept. 6, industrial stocks on the Frankfurt Exchange have risen an average of 10 per cent while bank stocks have risen as much as 30 per cent . . . Industrial stocks have now virtually reached the permitted ceiling price." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 12.)

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Hogs Never Satisfied

The U. S. Emergency Court of Appeals rejected demands of New York City landlords that they be permitted to jack up residential rents 15 per cent. The court contended landlords were making bigger profits under rent control than during the prewar years.

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Propaganda Sure Makes A Hearty Breakfast

"Each morning as I carefully spread a thin film of 66-cent butter on my undersized, off-color toast, I dutifully remind myself that America is eating more than it ever did before." (Saturday News, Lewisburgh, Pa.)

• • •

How About Putting Capitalists To Work?

"There will be no limit to production once labor makes up its mind to get busy and go to work." (Undersecretary of Commerce Alfred Schindler, Sept. 10.)

Civilian employment has reached an all-time peak of 58,100,000, Civilian Production Administrator John D. Small, reported on Aug. 30. He added: "The stop-and-go output . . . has now been replaced by continuous high-level production."

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Decontrol's Already Jet-Propelled

"Washington, Sept. 16 (UP). — John M. Bulkley, OPA's decontrol expert, said today the next few months would see a great speed-up in the removal of price ceilings."

Meat Trust Causes Famine

Thousands of packinghouse workers were out of work, and housewives searched in vain for meat to feed their families this week as the packing trust intensified the meat-famine it has imposed on the country to force elimination of price ceilings.

Virtually no meat is on sale at even the high ceiling prices given to the packers by the OPA, although price increases averaged 10 to 12 per cent. The packers are shutting down their major plants and operating through black market outlets.

In Omaha, T. J. Lloyd, international representative of the AFL Amalagamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen Union, announced that 25,000 of the union's 160,000 members have already been laid off, and another 25,000 face lay-offs next week. The CIO United Packinghouse Workers reported that half of its 30,000 members in Chicago are out of work because packers are curtailing legal production.

Butcher shops "throughout the nation had little or no meat and no prospect of early supply," the **N. Y. Times** admitted on Sept. 13. But there was plenty of meat on the black market, for those with money to buy. And where the meat came from was an open secret.

At the Chicago yards, for instance, cattle were being bought at above-ceiling prices, supposedly for feeding and fattening. "The real destination of the animals purchased as feeders seemed somewhat in question," the **Times** added. The article also observed that "80 per cent of all animals were going east" where "black market operations were larger."

Only one day before, on Sept. 12, the **Times** had told how "Black marketers 'get tough'" with OPA investigators assigned to check retail prices. The government agents "found the way barred yesterday by determined butchers," who flatly refused to let them check counters or iceboxes.

The powerless OPA agents waited on the sidewalks, while illegal sales continued. Some customers later reported overcharges like these: $2.10 for $1.21 worth of steak; 98 cents for 60 cents worth of veal chops; 72 cents for 56 cents worth of lamb chops; 58 cents for 42 cents worth of liverwurst.

While black market operators laughed at OPA investigators, the attorney for the N. Y. State Association of Retail Meat Dealers said: "Elimination of ceilings might be the answer to the meat shortage." That is, let the meat profiteers charge black market prices legally, and they would condescend to give the people meat.

But for the workers who are being gouged by soaring prices and deprived of meat by the packers' greed, there is only one real solution. Expropriate the meat profiteers! Nationalize the meat industry! Operate it under workers' control!

CIO Pickets Tie Up Ports To Follow Up AFL Victory

Maritime labor's militancy and solidarity tied up every port in the United States so completely that the AFL seamen have won a smashing victory against the government.

Within eight days the Truman Administration was forced to capitulate. The AFL seamen won their demands — a pay increase of $22.50 a month on the West Coast; $27.50 a month on the East Coast and Gulf.

The AFL's victory was assured when the CIO maritime unions supported the strike. Now, the Committee for National Maritime unity, representing six CIO unions and one independent, is following up with a strike to bring CIO seamen's pay to parity with the AFL rates.

Full Report On Maritime Strike See Page 2

Last June, the CIO's strike threat won a gain of $17.50 a month. The AFL unions then negotiated for still higher pay. Truman's Wage Stabilization Board disapproved the higher rates, thus provoking the AFL strike.

DANGER REMAINS

But the seamen still face a great danger.

After every great upsurge of the seamen, the capitalist government has opened up a counter-offensive. In 1921 the government spearheaded a union-smashing drive that broke the backbone of organized maritime labor for years. After the great strikes of 1934 and 1936 the government introduced the Copeland fink book in an attempt to cripple the maritime unions.

Wall Street's politicians will now redouble their efforts to whittle away maritime labor's latest gains. Washington will push price-boosting measures and repressive legislation.

It has become crystal clear that the government has largely replaced the ship operators in dealing with the seamen. In every matter, great and small, the government confronts the maritime unions and wields the club for the ship operators.

This means that the battle to safeguard the seamen's gains and their unions has become a daily **political** battle.

But Wall Street monopolizes the political field today. Labor has no effective independent political weapon — no party that is really its own.

If the tremendous power, the magnificient solidarity demonstrated in the maritime strike by all labor were extended to the political field, labor could crush its Big Business enemies in Washington.

WHAT IS NEEDED

The maritime workers in particular need an independent Labor Party. Organization on the political field, free of all capitalist ties, is the only effective means of combatting the government's anti-labor moves. The need to organize an independent Labor Party at once is the main lesson to be drawn from the maritime strike.

New York Truckdrivers Stand Firm; Break Operators' Front

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, Sept. 16—Grimly determined to win substantial wage raises and a 40-hour week, the 15,000 striking members of AFL Truckdrivers Locals 807, 282 and 816 here are fighting back against the pressure of the boss newspapers, Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer and their own weak-kneed leaders.

The militant rank and file have rejected O'Dwyer's phony compromise proposal and brushed aside his attempt to divide their ranks with a red-scare.

Their determined stand, expressed at a stormy membership meeting of the largest local, 807, at Manhattan Center last Thursday, has forced the recalcitrant truck operators associations to resume direct negotiations. (See Evelyn Atwood's account of dramatic strike meeting, on Page Six.)

A break in the truck fleet operators front has been reported. Two large operators are now said to be offering wage raises amounting to $7.40 a week for a 40-hour instead of the previous 44-hour week. The only previous offer of the truck operators had amounted to $2.86 more for a 44-hour week—6½ cents an hour.

O'DWYER FAILS

Mayor O'Dwyer sought the help of his Democratic political henchman, AFL Teamserst President Daniel J. Tobin, to force the drivers back without assured gains. O'Dwyer, who had tried to put over a "compromise" giving the drivers only a dollar more a week, demanded that Tobin send the drivers back, charging that "communists" had taken over the strike, and threatening "bloodshed and injury."

Tobin replied that the strikers' "cause is just." At the same time he ordered members of all other Teamsters Locals not to continue sympathetic strike action in support of Local 807. This was a move to isolate and weaken the general truckdrivers' strike.

Further efforts to weaken the strike were made with the proposal of union leaders that drivers for the big grocery chains accept a separate settlement and go back before the rest of the men. This proposition was overwhelmingly rejected at last Thursday's meeting.

This meeting also limited the power of the negotiating committee. They can sign no binding agreement without prior approval of the membership. Another membership meeting will be held today to consider the proposal of the negotiating committee to permit separate agreements with firms granting a $7.40 raise for a 40-hour week.

The Big Business daily newspapers have been cut down to a shadow by their inability to get newsprint, tied up at warehouses. They have become more restrained in their attacks on the strikers, since a continued holdout of the truck owners will mean that most of the daily papers will sustain tremendous losses because they have had to eliminate all advertising.

"Why We Support The Striking Seamen And New York Truckdrivers"

Radio Address By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Candidate For N. Y. Governor

Full text of the radio speech made by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of New York State, over Station WJZ, New York City, Thursday, Sept. 12, 10:45 P. M.:

You have read the scareheads in the Big Business press about the maritime and truck strikes. You know that a vast and well-financed propaganda drive has been unleashed to arouse hysteria and turn the people against the strikers.

I will tell you the facts the daily press has not seen fit to print. I will tell you who is behind the lies and slanders hurled at the strikers and who is really responsible for shortages falsely blamed on the strikers.

Election time is the season when the woods are full of so-called "friends of labor." Politicians of both major parties, Democrats and Republicans alike, have oiled up their political hunting rifles and are gunning for labor's votes. They are setting out their old lures and decoys—the promises they always use in vote-hunting.

But even in advance of the elections, living events are testing their promises. While Mead and Lehman, and Dewey and Ives, are swearing undying love for labor, their words are being tested by great events and great struggles.

Right here in New York City tens of thousands of workingmen have been forced into bitter strike struggles to defend their standard of living. These men — these fathers of families, most of them — work in two of the most dangerous and difficult occupations. They are seamen and truckdrivers.

All year long they risk their lives on the sea-lanes and the highways. And all they have asked is decent working conditions and sufficient wages to maintain their wives and children in decency and health.

Where are the voices of Mead and Lehman, of Dewey and Ives, today? Why have they not said a single word in defense of the seamen and truckdrivers? During their long political careers they have never said one word on behalf of any workers in any strike.

Are the workers always wrong? Are the people who do the useful work and produce all the necessities — are they never right in their demands against the tiny capitalist minority who live off the labor of others?

To the politicians of the Wall Street parties, the Democrats and Republicans, the workers are always in the wrong when it comes to a showdown with profiteers and exploiters. Just let the workers stand up and fight for their rights — just let them demand a small share of the profits they produce for the employers — and then these election-time "friends of labor" reveal their true stripes.

I speak here tonight to **denounce** and **expose** all these spurious "friends of labor." I speak here tonight on behalf of **justice** for the striking seamen and truckdrivers.

Case Of Truckdrivers

Let us take the case of the truckdrivers. These men have not had a raise in more than two years. The last raise they received amounted to $2.50 a week. Can anyone, in all conscience, say that even the 30 per cent wage increase they now ask will compensate for the rise in the cost of living in the past year? The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that living costs have gone up 11 per cent just in the past three months — and its figures are notoriously low.

The big truck fleet owners have been raking in staggering profits. Throughout the war, and right to this day, their trucks have been operating day and night. The trucking industry received its full share of juicy government war contracts.

The trucking corporations are protected by tax laws that provide rebates of profits taxes and carry-back clauses covering losses. Their regular profits taxes have been greatly reduced by Congress. They are sitting pretty — that's why they can arrogantly reject the demands of the truckdrivers. That's why they can offer the truckdrivers an insulting raise of about five cents an hour. That's why they deliberately provoked a strike.

I know what the life of a truckdriver is like. For many years in Minneapolis I was a member and organizer of the famous Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544. I was a picket dispatcher in the great 1934 Minneapolis drivers' strike. I served as secretary-treasurer of Local 544, and I was secretary of the 11-state area committee which secured the first union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers in the Northwest.

Who Is To Blame

Have you ever hauled a 30-ton load in a giant trailer-truck? Have you ever tried to steer a truck through crowded city streets, or down a long icy hill? Have you ever helped to load 80,000 pounds on a truck, and then helped to unload it after hours of grueling driving?

You won't find anyone who has ever done such dangerous and back-breaking work condemning these striking truckdrivers. Only persons who sit in swank offices and rake in profits, only the paid flunkies and propagandists of the rich are howling against these truckdrivers.

The newspapers are weeping crocodile tears about the truck strike holding up food and other necessities. They yelled "wolf" even when Mayor O'Dwyer — who is no mean "wolf"-shouter himself—admitted there was no cause for alarm.

We heard such hysterical raving last spring when the tug-boat strike was on. Mayor O'Dwyer even went to the fantastic lengths of shutting down the city for 16 hours. After the strike was over, federal officials admitted that the propaganda about shortages was a lie.

FARRELL DOBBS

If there are shortages due to the strike — who is to blame? Isn't it the arrogant truck owners who are trying to get out of paying justified wage increases? If the capitalist newspapers and the truck operators and Mayor O'Dwyer are so concerned about shortages, they can end the situation in a minute. Let them grant the workers' just demands!

And while we are on the subject of shortages — I want to speak about some real shortages that no one can say is due to strikes. The working people of New York and of the entire country are facing a meat famine. This meat-famine is caused by the deliberate withholding of meat by the profiteering meat-packers' trust.

The big packinghouses made stupendous profits during the war. They diverted meat into the black market and violated all price ceilings. They robbed the people blind — or denied them meat.

Now the OPA has granted new price increases of as as much as 16 cents a pound. But the grasping meat trust has cut off the meat supply like turning off a faucet. A handful of multi-millionaire monopolists are depriving the whole nation of meat. They are blackmailing the people for robber-prices. But you hear no cries of indignation about this from the press, or from Mayor O'Dwyer, or from any of the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Yet Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer, political henchman of Mead and Lehman, doesn't hesitate to intervene on behalf of the rich truck operators. He has tried to force the truckdrivers to accept a wage offer that would mean as little as one dollar a week more in their pay envelopes.

O'Dwyer Threatens

And now O'Dwyer is issuing threats against the truckdrivers. He is threatening force against them. Isn't that the meaning of his words to AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin, that if Tobin doesn't halt the strike "it is very possible that bloodshed and injury will result?" O'Dwyer was put into office less than a year ago with the workers' votes. Today, he is threatening to spill their blood.

O'Dwyer is dragging the old red herring across the trail. He is raving about the "reds" and "communists." That is one of the oldest and smelliest methods of trying to smear striking workers.

The overwhelming majority of truck drivers have rejected O'Dwyer's phony compromise proposal. They are not staying out on strike just because they like to lose pay. They are not putting up such a determined stand just because communists or anyone else told them to do so in a leaflet. O'Dwyer's yell about "Communists" is an insult not only to the intelligence of the truck drivers but to the whole working populace of New York.

If by "communists" O'Dwyer means the Stalinists of the Communist Party — didn't he himself welcome their support and votes in the November 1945 elections?

The case of the seamen is another example of double-dealing and injustice against the workers. In this case, an agency appointed by President Truman has tried to reduce the wage increases granted by the ship operators themselves.

Over 6,000 merchant seamen died at sea during the war. The reward to the surviving seamen for terrible risks and sacrifices was to get a $45 a month cut in pay after V-J Day. The ship operators, as their reward, got hundreds of millions of dollars from the government. The government is turning over **six billion** dollars' worth of ships built with our money as a virtual gift to these ship operators.

One of the biggest steals in all history is being engineered in Washington to benefit the ship operators. At the same time, Truman's Wage Stabilization Board chisels $5 to $10 a month from the wage increases negotiated by the AFL seamen.

Cause Is Just

As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor, I wish to state here and now that my party and its entire ticket stand four-square behind the striking seamen and truckdrivers. We make no reservations whatsoever.

I say further, that if I were Governor, I would make it my first duty to support the picket lines of my fellow-workers. I would use every power of office to force the employers to satisfy the full demands of the strikers. Instead of persecuting strikers, I would investigate the records of the employers with a microscope. And I would crack down on every dishonest employer with the full power of the law.

To the truckdrivers, seamen and their families, let me say: Your cause is just! You deserve the support of every right-minded person! Stick to it! Your fight is the fight of all labor!

AFL Seamen Win; CIO Unions Hit The Bricks For Equal Pay

By C. Thomas

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, Sept. 15 — The unbroken solidarity of America's waterfront workers in history's greatest maritime strike has forced Truman to reverse the decision of his Wage Stabilization Board and to grant to the AFL seamen the full wage increases they previously negotiated with the ship operators.

But the national waterfront tie-up continues as CIO maritime unions, whose support of the AFL strike was an important factor in the victory, pulled out their members in a fight to enforce their demand for equality of wages in the industry.

As AFL pickets were being withdrawn, CIO picket lines took their place to keep the ships dead in all ports.

John R. Steelman, Truman's "economic stabilizer," announced the government's capitulation to the AFL seamen's demands over the radio on Thursday evening, Sept. 12, the eighth day of the AFL strike.

INCREASE APPROVED

The AFL seamen, organized in the Seafarers International Union and Sailors' Union of the Pacific, wrested government approval for general wage increases ranging from $22.50 to $27.50 per month. These wage scales, previously accepted by the ship operators, had been rejected by the Wage Stabilization Board, which provoked the strike.

Claiming the AFL wage scale were "inflationary," the WSB ruled that the $17.50 granted the CIO seamen in June after a strike threat constituted the "ceiling" for the industry. The AFL unions declared that the WSB's wage-freezing ruling was a violation of "free collective bargaining."

The strike called on Sept. 5 by the SIU-SUP completely immobilized U.S. shipping and was the most effective maritime strike action in history.

The Truman administration was caught on the horns of a dilemma. If the WSB reversed its decision, as the unions demanded, it would suffer a mortal blow to its prestige and authority. On the other hand, the strike had aroused such tremendous support from all sections of organized labor that Truman did not even dare to repeat the threat made in June to use the Navy against an impending CIO strike.

BOLSTER WSB

After stalling for a week, the Truman administration sought to resolve the dilemma by a typical maneuver. The WSB held a "rehearing" which upheld its previous decision. This threw the dispute directly into Truman's lap. Steelman, Truman's Economic Stabilization Director, then hastily announced a formula designed to bolster the crumbling authority of the WSB, maintain the government's wage-freezing policy and grant the AFL seamen their wage demands.

The Steelman formula was couched in such ambiguous language that no one could quite make out what it meant. A joint SIU-SUP membership meeting, held immediately after Steelman's radio statement, went on record unanimously to continue the strike until the government gave unambiguous assurance that all union demands had been met.

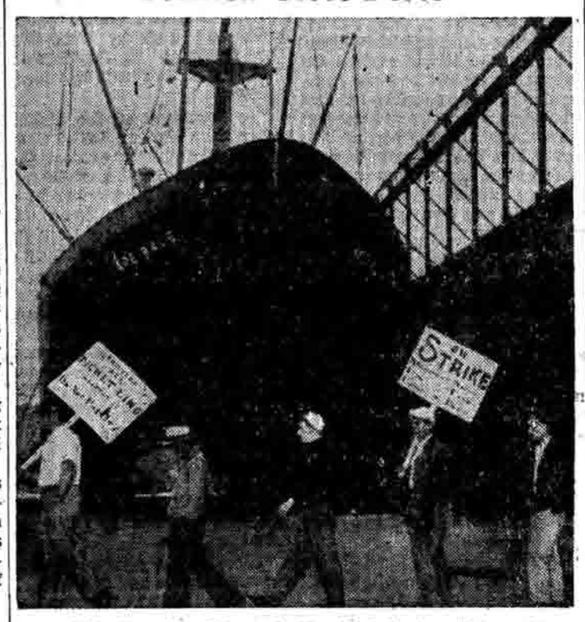
The men were in no mood to be trifled with. Both rank and file members and union leaders expressed their resentment at the cheap trick played by Steelman in making a public announcement of the government's decision before communicating with the strike committee. The men who pounded the bricks for eight days to tie up every port in the country were not going to be stampeded back to work by any double-talk from Washington.

FULL COMPLIANCE

The unanimous decision of the joint membership meeting was that there would be no return to work until the agreements were "signed, sealed and delivered." It wasn't until the following evening that the strike was called off officially when union officials received confirmation that the operators and government had complied with the full wage demands.

In the meantime, the CIO had established its picket lines in all salt water ports and joined the pickets of the independent Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association who had walked out immediately following the WSB's statement reaffirming its previous rejection of the AFL wage scales.

Seamen Close Ports



Picketlines like this one in New York harbor, tied up ships in every port as the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (both AFL) struck to regain the wage increase which had been slashed by the War Shipping Board. Other AFL unions and the Committee for Maritime Unity (six CIO and one unaffiliated union) support the strike.

Federated Pictures

The CIO maritime unions early this year had joined with the independent Marine Firemen to establish the Committee for Maritime Unity. When the operators refused to accede to the CMU demands, a strike date was set for June 15. It was during this period that the Truman administration had whipped up a lynch hysteria against the unions following the strike of the railroad workers and miners.

STRIKE STILL ON

Truman's threat to use troops to smash a CIO maritime strike called forth an immediate response from the AFL seafaring unions. They declared they would walk off the ships if any such strikebreaking attempt was made. The dispute was temporarily settled when the CIO unions accepted a government proposal for a $17.50 general wage increase, with all collateral issues submitted to arbitration. It was this scale that the WSB attempted to enforce as the wage ceiling.

With the AFL seamen on record to respect CIO picket lines the present strike remains in full force and effect. The original strike policy of the CMU, under the influence of the Stalinists, was to make numerous exceptions permitting various categories of shipping to operate. This policy was contrary to that adopted by the SIU-SUP. The AFL unions sought to shorten the duration of the strike and increase its effectiveness by tying up all shipping with very few exceptions.

If the CMU policy had prevailed, any effective strike action would have been seriously endangered. However, the dynamics of the struggle itself forced a change in policy. The CIO National Maritime Union's strike committee in the port of New York has adopted a resolution to tie up all ships. If this policy is firmly pursued it will deter that section of the AFL leaders who would welcome a pretext to declare the CIO strike "phony" and send their men through the CIO lines. Both the AFL and CIO rank-and-file oppose any rift in the solid strike front.

The only blot on the magnificent solidarity of the waterfront workers thus far was the action yesterday of AFL longshore boss Joseph Ryan, who tried to force his members to crash an NMU picket line around a struck ship. When the rank and file longshoremen refused to act as finks for "King Joe" Ryan, he tried to provoke them with the taunt: "Are you going to let a couple of punks scare you?"

UNION SPIRIT

But it was not fear of the six NMU-CIO pickets that prevented two hundred AFL longshoremen from refusing to crash a picket line, as Ryan insultingly implied. It was their union spirit and class solidarity that made them repudiate Ryan's strike-breaking order.

Ryan later declared he would make no other attempt at scab-herding that day, adding that he expected the strike to be over by Monday.

Ryan's disgraceful fink action has alerted all maritime workers to be on guard to preserve their magnificent unity in action to the end.

It is that unity in action that has been the back-bone of the greatest demonstration of organized maritime labor power in history.

"Nothing Doing, Cap'!"— A Scene On A N. Y. Dock

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK—She is a large new ship, a C4, built to carry American cargo and passengers to the far corners of the world. A new ship with all the latest improvement in design and power. From the time she was launched she had moved restlessly from busy piers into the sea lanes of the Western Ocean.

Now she lies quietly alongside the pier. No clattering winch disturbs the Sunday calm. The only sound besides the lap of the incoming tide against the hull is the footsteps of two young sailors who pace back and forth at the entrance of the pier. The hook is hung and her seamen are "on the bricks."

NOTHING MOVES

And throughout the world's biggest harbor the scene is the same. Nothing moves on water except a few small craft given clearance by the Strike Committee. The piers with cargo piled to the rafters are dark and deserted, their quiet disturbed only by the screeching of the sea gulls.

A shining new Buick car approaches the pier and stops. Two men step from the car and approach the pickets. One, dressed in the full uniform and regalia of a Commander in the Naval Reserve, is the ship's skipper. The other, well dressed and portly, is an obviously "big" man in some shipping company.

They approach one of the pickets who stops and stares at them fixedly.

"We are going aboard the ship," explains the Skipper, somewhat nervously. He hasn't yet got over the shock of having to explain his business on his "own" ship to an eighteen-year-old Picket Captain.

"Let me see your clearance!" demands the young picket. The Captain fumbles in his pocket and pulls out a yellow slip signed by the Strike Committee. The young Picket Captain examines it carefully, reading it word for word even though he has read it a number of times before.

"Where's your clearance?" the Picket Captain then asks the other, the portly gentleman. The latter explains in a voice that barely conceals his feeling of frustrated outrage. "I'm the Port Captain—I have business aboard the ship."

NOTHING DOING

This is a new experience in his long career as a company official. His world is one of cargo manifests, custom declarations, ships papers, documents of great meaning in the law offices and brokerages of Wall Street. Now he —he—is asked for a yellow slip of paper signed by—a strike committee.

His face turns purple and he blusters indignantly. Firmly, the only recognized authority today on the whole waterfront—the Picket Captain backed by the Strike Committee—tells him: "Nothing doing, Cap'!"

The Skipper boards the ship. Down on the dock, the Port Captain stands gazing after him.

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State Of Greek Political Parties Before The Recent Plebiscite

By Jean Paul Martin
(Special to The Militant)

ATHENS, Greece—On the eve of the plebiscite, the Greek labor movement is divided into four parties:

The Community Party—The Greek Communist Party is far and away the strongest; during the war it developed influence over the "Resistance" and thereby over a large part of the peasantry in the country and the ruined middle class of the cities.

The Communist Party reached its highest point immediately after the "liberation" of Greece in October 1944 and before the December events. After the defeat and the Varziza agreement, its influence diminished rapidly, to rise again somewhat as a result of the aggravation of the economic situation and the excesses of the reaction.

INTERNAL CRISIS

Since May 1946 this party has been visibly going through a profound internal crisis.

An opposition which has developed is headed by a number of old cadre-elements of the party, among them Petsopoulos, and militants of the "Resistance" such as Orestes and Zacharias, who, thanks to their exploits, won great prestige among the party ranks.

In a separate article we will discuss the development of this crisis and the accusations of this opposition against the policy of the Stalinist leadership. This crisis is in reality the result of the whole impasse into which the opportunist and adventurist policy of the CPG has led, before and especially after the "liberation."

Faced with the brutal reactionary offensive trying to achieve the complete destruction of the labor movement, the Stalinists at present answer with the slogan: "Conciliation!"

The thesis which it daily develops in all the columns of its central organ **Rizospastis** is the following: It is the monarchist reaction to whose interest it is to feed and spread the civil war. The CP says to the people: "There are no monarchists and democrats, there are no Rightists and Leftists. There are only and above all the Greeks. Greeks of all parties, don't play the game of reaction. Reconciliate yourselves . . ." etc.

This treacherous tactic represents the greatest danger for the immediate future of the Greek working class, because it sabotages all effective resistance to the reactionary offensive and demoralizes the workers' ranks.

The Socialist Party — The Greek Socialist Party is a recent production of social and political regroupings which took place in the country during the war.

The socialist movement as a mass movement of importance was non-existent in Greece before the war. When the Communist Party took the leadership of the "Resistance" movement and created the EAM, it formed or helped form a whole string of "democratic" and "socialist" organizations which it used as fronts. Among these socialist parties, the most important one has become that led today by Professor Svolos and Tsirimokos, who come from the left wing of the Liberal Party of Venizelos.

This Socialist Party has benefited from the aid of a few reformist trade union leaders, such as Lascaris and Stratis who have a certain influence among the railway workers. Its base is composed especially of city petty-bourgeois and above all of intellectuals.

The Archeomarxist Communist Party was before the war part of the London Bureau and today is hunting for an international orientation.

Its influence is limited to certain labor circles of Athens, the Piraeus, and Salonika; it publishes a weekly newspaper, **The Class Struggle.**

TROTSKYIST PARTY

There is, finally, the **Internationalist Communist Party**, which accepts the program of the Fourth International, and which is the product of a recent unification of three separate Trotskyist organizations.

This party publishes a weekly newspaper, **The Workers' Struggle**, and collaborates with the Archeomarxists in the trade union field. In its manifesto issued by the Unification Congress which took place at the end of July, it advocated:

The formation of a workers' alliance for the purpose of struggling against the return of the king.

Vote for the republic at the time of the plebiscite.

The dissolution of the present trumped-up parliament and the election of a Constituent Assembly. The political and economic demands of the masses.

Workers' militias against the white terror.

A general amnesty.

Support for the political economic demands of the masses.

CONCLUSION

The climate existing in Greece on the eve of the plebiscite is that of civil war.

The capitalists do not hope to restore their economic power in Greece, and British imperialism cannot consolidate its domination in this strategic part of the Balkans and the Mediterranean, without a "strong" regime which finishes off the struggles and resistance of the masses.

This "strong" regime which the capitalists are preparing, and which they wish to crown and consolidate by the return of the king, does not, despite the terror against the masses, have enough of a mass base so that it can be characterized as fascist.

We are witnessing the birth of a military and police dictatorship of the worst sort which also makes an appeal to declassed elements still isolated from the broad masses, which it arms and organizes against the labor movement.

NEED SUPPORT

The fighting spirit of the working class is not broken, but the policy of capitaulation of the Communist Party, which concentrates on the slogan of "Conciliation," can lead to a crushing defeat. The Greek workers needs the active support of the European and world working class, World-wide labor opinion must be informed about the unspeakable crimes which capitalist reaction, aided by British imperialism, is committing every day against the Greek masses.

Let us not permit the capitalists to replunge into the barbarism of dictatorship and fascism a country whose working-class was in the forefront of the anti-capitalist struggle engendered by the last war.

Nation-wide Strike In Japan Against Puppet Government

By Larissa Reed

A tremendous upsurge of the Japanese labor movement involving almost 1,000,000 workers — one-third of the organized labor force — began on Sept. 10 in Tokyo with a general strike of the All-Japan Seamen's Union. This was followed in a few days by a strike of 556,000 men in the Japanese CIO and 330,000 organized farm hands in the All-Japan Agricultural Union.

This powerful strike wave is taking place in the face of a dictatorial decree issued by General MacArthur two weeks ago, backed up by the puppet government, prohibiting "strikes, walkouts or other work stoppages."

The Hitler-like decree and MacArthur's threat to use occupation troops as strikebreakers served to smash a three-day strike of seamen at Sasebo.

This week, according to union reports, 3,899 ships are tied up, virtually paralyzing the Japanese merhant marine. Sympathy strikes of the Japan Port Workers Union and Japan Coastal Shipping Union added 60,000 strikers to the 54,000 merchant seamen who walked off the ships. Japanese crews of eight Liberty ships, due to return to the U.S., joined the walkout, and crews of six others are preparing to do the same.

SEAMEN'S DEMANDS

The Japanese seamen's union is demanding a 100 per cent wage increase. Even more important, they are determined to prevent the government from carrying out its threat to dismiss 80 per cent of the seamen, without consultation with the union.

The union states that these mass dismissals are not only unnecessary but, according to the Sept. 12 **Christian Science Monitor**, "may actually be a government effort to stunt the growth of the labor movement under the pretext of economic necessity."

The seamen's strike spread because the Japanese trade union movement is determined to defeat attempts of the American imperialists and their Japanese puppet government to crush their organized strength and drive the workers back to semi-feudal servitude.

The Japanese Congress of Industrial Unions (equivalent of the American CIO) ordered all its major industrial affiliates to go on strike and stay out until "the reactionary government of Premier Yoshida collapses."

The CIO strike call was issued to coal miners, steel and chemical workers, printers, machinery and electrical workers and others. The strike of the unionized farm hands followed close on the heels of the CIO strike call, after failure of the union to reach agreements on collective bargaining rights and wage increases with the representatives of the big landed proprietors.

The Japanese CIO has 1,600,000 members, including 600,000 railway workers. The General Federation of Government Railway Workers also issued a strike call, after the government threatened to dismiss 75,000 railway employees for reasons of "economy," the same pretext used in the threatened mass layoffs of seamen.

ACCUSE GOVERNMENT

The railway union accused the government of being concerned only with meeting interest payments on wartime bonds at the expense of the workers. These payments go to the same Japanese capitalist profiteers who dragooned the workers into their imperialist war, and who are now protected by MacArthur. The union prepared to strike as a protest against victimizing the workers for "deficits" which were made "for the purpose of waging war."

The government retreated in the face of this strike threat and the Transport Ministry rescinded the dismissal order. The railway union is reported to be operating under a temporary truce.

Workers Demonstrate In Japan

Scenes like this are common in Japan today as workers strike throughout the country. This picture was taken in January, when Japanese Government Railway workers from seven districts demonstrated in Tokyo to demand wage increases.

Cable from France

The Third Convention of the Internationalist Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International, greets the striking American seamen and truckdrivers now fighting in defense of their vital interests. Our convention wishes to express its full sympathy with this struggle. We know that the French working class is in complete solidarity with this battle against the capitalist onslaught on workers' living standards.

Crisis Over High Living Costs In Brazil Shakes Dutra Govt.

By Charles Carsten
(Special to the Militant)

MEXICO, D. F., Sept. 4—In mass demonstrations against the high cost of living thousands of people last week surged through the streets of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, shouting "Death to the black market merchants!"

These widespread disturbances are an indication of the intolerable living conditions suffered by the masses in Brazil, which "is being shaken by one of the worst economic and political crises in its history." (AP dispatch, Sept. 1.) Prices have risen 300 per cent. Workers' wages remain abnormally low.

The Brazilian government demonstrated its inability to cope with the situation in any other way than by force, when President Eurico Gaspar Dutra proclaimed martial law in Rio de Janeiro on Sept. 1. Fully armed soldiers began patrolling the streets in an attempt to prevent a recurrence of the demonstrations which had lasted for two days. Before "order" was restored one person had been killed, 100 wounded, and 500 imprisoned.

STUDENT DIES

The death of a student from food poisoning touched off the demonstrations. On learning about the death of their comrade, students immediately attacked the bakery which sold the contaminated food and left the store in ruins.

The students, who expressed the general public dissatisfaction with the poor food and rising cost of living, were soon joined by throngs from all sections of the population. Windows of stores and restaurants and the marquees of theaters were smashed.

Mounted police charged the crowd with raised sabres in an attempt to disperse it, and were answered by a hail of rocks. Despite the use of clubs, rifles, handcuffs and tear gas bombs, the police were unable to curb the demonstrators and President Dutra was forced to call out the Army.

General De Goes Monteiro, Dutra's Minister of War and the "strong man" in the Brazilian government, declared that the disturbance was inspired by the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Government forces surrounded the Stalinist headquarters and arrested 200 party members.

However, according to an Aug. 31 Reuter dispatch from Rio de Janeiro, Stalinist leaders issued a "manifesto" in which they urged the populace to be "calm," and not allow themselves to be provoked because, said the manifesto, "this would give a pretext to people with illegal designs against democracy."

The same dispatch quoted the conservative Brazilian paper **Correo Manha** as follows: "The police tried to present the version that the disturbances had been organized by the Communists (Stalinists) and hundreds of Communists were arrested. The Communists are capable of organizing disorders but in this case they did not do it."

ATTACK STALINISTS

The Brazilian government utilized the demonstrations as a pretext to launch an attack against the Stalinist party. This is in line with the present policy of the U. S. State Department. Washington intends to crush the Stalinist parties in every country in Latin America as one of its moves in preparing the Western Hemisphere for war against the Soviet Union. Dutra's government, which slavishly follows the dictates of Wall Street's government, is among the first to begin carrying out this policy.

Brazil's participation in World War II drained the country's resources and is an important factor underlying the present economic crisis. Much of the Brazilian merchant marine was lost. Railroad and truck transportation deteriorated. As a result commodities accumulate in the productive states in the north and south of the country, while there is a scarcity of food and other commodities in the large cities.

The Dutra government has not controlled the black market, which has become very powerful in the big cities. These merchants, who are linked with the "legitimate" native capitalists, mercilessly exploit the situation. The desperation of the masses, caused by the soaring cost of living and chronically low wages, rose to the breaking point last week. Despite government repression, other similar or more violent outbursts and strikes are bound to occur in the near future.

15,000 Belgian Dockworkers On Picket Lines

(Special to The Militant)

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Sept. 4—Two days ago 15,000 dockworkers in the ports of Ghent and Antwerp quit work. The strike is solid and is led by an Action Committee opposed to the policies of the reformist union leadership. At a meeting of 6,000 members in Antwerp, local union leaders, including both Trotskyists and Stalinists, denounced the foul role played by the reformist leaders.

The strike was caused by an agreement between the official union leaders and the employers. Under this agreement the workers would be given a plan of social security only if in return they gave up some of their hard won gains, including holidays with pay, etc.

This strike can be understood only in relation to the growing offensive of the Belgian workers as a whole. Starting with sporadic strikes in the Brussels region, the wave of struggle rose with a strike of the metal workers in the regions of Louviere and of Liege, a postal workers' strike, and a national strike of the tramwaymen.

Altogether, more than 150,000 workers have been drawn into the strike movement, which is the biggest in this country since 1936 and which does not yet seem to have reached its highest point.

Nationalization In Britain

Grant Huge Sum To Mine Owners

(Special to The Militant)

LONDON, Aug. 23 — The Tribunal appointed by the Coal Industry Nationalization Act has fixed the compensation to be paid to the coal-owners as 164 million pounds sterling.

This sum guarantees an annual rate of profit of 9.9 million pounds for 17 years, or of 8.2 million pounds for 20 years.

Capitalist satisfaction with this decision may be judged by the fact that colliery shares, together with other nationalized industries, rose on the Stock Exchange.

This is the first decision made by the Labor Government on the question of compensation. The pattern is clear: The nationalized industries are to be saddled with fabulous sums of compensation which will equal the average annual profit that brought the basic industries to chaos and anarchy, and brought immeasurable suffering to millions of miners and workers.

AT WORKERS' EXPENSE

Thus the rationalization of technique and production in these basic industries (iron, steel, coal, transport) is to be carried out at the expense of the workers and not, as the workers demand, at the expense of the wealthy capitalists who become stockholders.

As the London **Economist** remarked in another connection on Aug. 10: "There is probably not a single one of these Acts (nationalization, etc.) that the (Tory) Opposition, if they were to come into power tomorow, would repeal in its entirety, and not very many that they would seriously amend."

However, while the Labor Government pursues the paths well trod by other capitalist countries, the totality of its measures (nationalization, withdrawal of troops from Egypt, etc.) and the rather intoxicated howls from the extreme right of the capitalists have maintained the Labor Government's widespread, though inactive, support.

WORKERS CRITICAL

While the advanced workers are critical of some of the Labor Government's policies, they are determined to smash any Tory obstruction. This fact is again revealed on the simple questioning of bread rationing, where the organized workers rallied to the government against the attempted sabotage of the Master Bakers.

The struggle in the nationalized industries will certainly center around the question of control in the future. The experience of the workers will lead them to demand workers' management of the nationalized industries, abolition of compensation and real measures against the capitalist saboteurs.

British Steel Barons Will Retain Their Stranglehold On Industry

(Special to The Militant)

LONDON, Sept. 1 — The final plan of the Labor Government for the British steel industry has been announced. It represents a total capitulation to the steel barons and reveals the cowardice of the Labor Party leaders when faced with threats from the capitalists.

The government has retreated from its original intention, which was to nationalize the steel industry along the lines of its Coal Industry Nationalization Act. Now it proposes to form a partnership between the state and private enterprise, with government representation on the boards of the big undertakings. The names and individualities of the companies will be preserved, a central body composed of representatives of the government and private enterprise will be formed to administer the industry.

WORKERS TIED

As Jock Haston, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, points out in the mid-August **Socialist Appeal:**

"Thus, even the steps taken to restrict the anarchy and sabotage of the coal capitalists, such as were taken in the case of the coal mines, will not be taken in relation to steel. The steel industry, unlike the coal industry, is not to become a state-owned capitalist trust, but to remain as a privately-owned monopoly trust, to work in conjunction with the state. The effective control will remain with the given group of monopolists but the workers will be tied and chained with bureaucratic state regulations."

The capitalists did not even squeal about the nationalization of the mines, because this placed all the burdens of a wrecked industry onto the shoulders of the workers and at the same time gave the coal capitalists guaranteed profit at rates equal to prewar.

JOCK HASTON
National Secy., RCP

DEMAND OWN PRICE

But the steel industry, in the hands of the Thomas Baldwin octopus, does not want even this state-capitalist measure. The steel barons, who hold the entire motor car, aircraft, armament and metal manufacturing industries in their grip, can demand their own price.

The Labor Government, by a genuine socialist policy of nationalization without compensation under workers' control, could have swept aside the opposition from the steel barons. But rather than pursue such a policy in the interest of the workers it prefers to capitulate shamefully before the demands of Big Business.

2,000 Workers In Bolivia Honor Trotsky

More than 2,000 miners and students of La Paz, Bolivia, paid homage to Leon Trotsky at a memorial meeting on August 25.

The program opened with the singing of "The Internationale." Then Guillermo Lora, leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Partido Obrero Revolucionario), told about Trotsky's outstanding contributions to the workers of the world.

Next speakers were Bravo Rojas, Romulo Rojas, and Leticia Fajardo. The poem to the revolution, "Uplifted Fist," ("Puno en Alto") was recited by Ligia Lopez.

Fernando Bravo J. spoke on the need of buiding the POR as the revolutionary party of the Bolivian workers. Amanda Bass Werneer paid tribute to Trotsky's exemplary life.

The meeting closed with the singing of "The Workers' Marseillaise," ("La Marsellesa Proletaria").

Homeless Workers In London Take Over Vacant Mansions

More than 2,000 homeless people in London, fed up with the government runaround on housing, took matters into their own hands last week. Beginning on Sept. 8, they marched in disciplined fashion into the wealthy West End section of the city and occupied a dozen vacant buildings, including the fashionable Duchess of Bedford apartment house. Before the week was out, they had seized a 600-room hotel in Bloomsbury and numerous other smaller dwellings.

Many of the "squatters" were veterans with their families. They held out in the semi-besieged dwellings and defied intimidation by the police and government threats to evict them.

The government, more concerned with the profits of the big landlord and real estate interests than with the plight of the people, denounced the movement as "Communist-led." On Sept. 14, five prominent members of the British Communist Party were arrested on warrants of conspiracy to incite persons to trespass on private property.

City authorities sent police squads against a crowd of 2,000 sympathizers massed before the luxurious Abbey Lodge apartment house. They were demonstrating against police refusal to permit them to pass blankets and food to some 50 families, including a number of children in the building.

STOP TRAFFIC

The demonstrators lay down three deep in the middle of Park Road, blocking all traffic. They shouted: "Give them blankets!" After a sound truck suggested that a collection be taken, the police gave up. Blankets, food and money were handed through the windows to the besieged.

This "squatters" movement differed from a similar one last year, when veterans commandeered vacant houses in Brighton, a workers' section, and took over vacant army barracks and other empty government buildings. No attempt was made to evict them. Today the wealthy parasites of London are scandalized because the homeless people are not intimidated by the expensive nature of the apartments they seized.

The Duchess of Bedford House contains well-appointed apartments renting from $40 to $60 weekly. Abbey Lodge apartments cost $285 a month upward. Many of the buildings had been commandeered during the war by the government, which pledged to turn them back to the owners.

The movement was skillfully organized. The crowds met in pouring rain at a prescribed secret rendezvous in Kensington. They learned of the move through notices in shops which told those needing accommodations to "apply within for information." At Kensington, they were met by stewards who sent them off to stake their claims at empty buildings in the district. After pegging an apartment, they rushed off home to bring goods and chattels.

COMMITTEE ELECTED

Under organized direction, hot drinks and food were supplied. Sympathetic local residents carried luggage and looked after children while parents were busy. At a meeting of the new settlers, a deputation was elected to call on the Borough Council to furnish essential services, such as light, heat and water, where these were not already turned on.

By the time the war ended, 70,000 of London's 814,000 houses were destroyed by bombs. The erection of a few Nissen huts and other temporary housing did little to alleviate the distress. The "squatters" movement is recognized as a challenge to the Labor Government for falling down in its promises and betraying the workers who voted it into office last year.

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CHICAGO
"The Solution To Crisis In Palestine"
Saturday, Sept. 21
Speaker:
Michael Bartell
SWP Organizer
Socialist Workers Party
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"It is necessary to destroy imperialism in order to give mankind an opportunity to live."

—Leon Trotsky

Government Boards

The maritime workers have just gone through another bitter experience with so-called "impartial" government boards. They have learned their lesson about such "tripartite" agencies, where the minority of labor members serve as window-dressing while the employer and government majority act together to cut labor's throat.

Both the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific have called for removal of the AFL member from the Wage Stabilization Board that tried to cut their wage scales.

Without the union members, such wage-freezing, employer-dominated boards as the WSB would collapse. It is only because they are bolstered and supported by the union leaders that such boards can put over their "impartial" decisions against the workers.

AFL President William Green has responded to the appeal of the AFL seamen's unions — but not in the way they asked. "The Wage Stabilization Board now stands repudiated and disgraced," said Green on Sept. 13. Therefore—"It's PUBLIC and INDUSTRY members have forfeited the confidence of the public and labor and should resign at once." (Our emphasis.)

According to Green, the trouble with the WSB is Truman didn't hand-pick the "right" industry and "public" members. Now if only four "good," "impartial" capitalist representatives were put on the board, everything would be fine for labor. Keep the board, change the faces, says Green.

But the whole purpose and function of such boards is to front for the employers and to whittle down the workers' demands—all under the cloak of "impartiality." The union representatives are graciously permitted to sit on the board to cover up its real function and bolster its authority in the eyes of the workers.

In 1941, we had Roosevelt's National Defense Mediation Board to cut wages and break strikes. It folded up overnight when the United Mine Workers walked out on it. Then the top union leaders helped form the War Labor Board. It froze wages and broke strikes until the Administration was forced to discard it when the workers no longer recognized its authority.

All such capitalist government boards are traps for the workers. This is once more proved to the hilt by latest actions of the WSB. The union ranks must demand of the AFL and CIO leaders: "Get off the WSB—and stay off!"

The Same Enemy

Simultaneous with the American maritime labor's national strike, a million Japanese workers have risen in a mighty general strike spearheaded by the All-Japan Seamen's Union.

These two struggles, involving workers of conquered and conqueror countries, demonstrate in the most dramatic fashion the identity of interests of all workers everywhere.

These two strikes are being waged not only for similar demands—but against the identical enemy.

The workers of the conqueror country, the United States, have been engaged in a bitter struggle against the American capitalist government's attempt to freeze and cut their wages.

The workers of the conquered country, Japan, are engaged in a bitter stuggle to win wage increases against the opposition of this same American capitalist government, whose armed forces dominate Japan.

In this country, the government acts in the interest of the employers and profiteers. In Japan, this same government is propping up and defending the interests of the Japanese capitalists, now the puppets of American imperialism.

The very organization which has summoned the Japanese workers to general strike, the Congress of Industrial Unions, is named after and patterned on the American CIO.

When the Japanese seamen struck, they were dealing a blow against the enemy of the American seamen. When the American seamen struck, they were weakening the power of the Wall Street imperialists who are trying to crush the Japanese workers.

The American workers have everything in common with the Japanese workers. The American capitalists have everything in common with the Japanese capitalists, the oppressors and exploiters of the Japanese masses.

Let American labor stretch out the hand of union fellowship to our Japanese brothers. Demand the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Japan! Voice our class solidarity with the Japanese workers! All support to the valiant union men and women of Japan!

Workers' Control

Demands for the government to take over and operate the meat industry are being raised in the labor movement. Twenty-three Chicago and Milwaukee locals of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers and the New York State CIO have called for nationalization of the meat industry.

These demands are inspired by the meat famine and the lay-offs of thousands of packinghouse workers. The meat-packing barons have deliberately curtailed meat processing and are withholding meat supplies to force elimination of all price ceilings.

We are certainly for nationalization — not only of the meat industry but of all basic industries. However, the workers should carefully consider the limitations of nationalization of industry by the capitalist government where the monopolists continue to get their profits and to maintain actual, if not formal, control.

We have witnessed many instances of the capitalist government "seizing" plants and industries during the war and post-war periods. In every case, the purpose of such "seizures" was to break strikes, force the workers back to work and safeguard the profits of the owners.

The packinghouse workers themselves had a taste of this kind of "nationalization." Last January Truman tried to break their strike by "seizing" the packinghouses.

This kind of "nationalization" is undertaken strictly to protect the profit interests of the monopolists. It will not ensure a steady supply of meat at low prices, full employment and decent wages for the packinghouse workers.

Behind the cover of "nationalization" by the capitalist government, the greedy meat profiteers would continue their extortions from the consumers and exploitation of the workers.

Nationalization of the meat industry can function fully in the interest of the workers only under two conditions. 1.) Control and ownership of the meat industry must be taken from the present private monopoly owners without compensation. 2.) The industry must be operated under workers' control.

Expropriate the meat profiteers! Nationalize the meat industry under the control of the workers! That will end the meat famine in short order.

The Wallace Speech

It appears that two men are inside the donkey's hide symbolizing the Democratic Party. A Southern Bourbon of the race-hate, lynch-law, James F. Byrnes type is manipulating the head, front legs and backbone. A so-called "progressive" of the New Deal, Rooseveltian, Henry A. Wallace type is dragging along the hind end and tail.

The coincidence of an election and diplomatic preparations in Europe for another world war crossed up these two ends of the Democratic jackass. Worried about the labor vote, Wallace wrote a speech denouncing the "get tough" attitude Byrnes has been spearheading against the Soviet Union.

Truman read the advance copy of the speech, apparently thought it good to catch the votes of workers who want peace, and gave it his official OK. Wallace delivered the speech in New York on Sept. 12.

But the head and backbone of the Democratic donkey decided the speech was "embarrassing" to Byrnes. Wall Street thought it more important now to maintain the "get tough" attitude abroad than to spread molasses for labor votes at home. Wall Street feels pretty sure of the labor vote anyway—at least in the key state of New York. Haven't the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party and the Stalinists promised to deliver this vote on the line for the reactionary Democratic machine?

Feeling no necessity for any concession on this question, Wall Street cracked the whip square across the rear end of the Democratic donkey to get it lined up properly with Byrnes.

Truman held a press conference Sept. 14. The President read a statement, carefully prepared for him, that he didn't really mean to endorse Wallace's speech as an indication of U. S. foreign policy. All he really meant to say was that he endorsed Wallace's right to make a speech! To the accompaniment of world-wide jeers and laughter the ex-necktie salesman escaped from the White House reporters without answering any further questions that might trip him up.

The episode has served to clear the air, however, of some of the Democratic election campaign lies. Now there can be no doubt. After due consideration, Truman has been forced to admit that the Democratic Party doesn't have the slightest intention of changing its reactionary foreign policy.

The Republican Party agrees wholeheartedly with this policy and even sent a Republican Senator, Vandenburg, along with Byrnes to Paris as a demonstration of its agreement. The two capitalist parties are thus completely indistinguishable on one of the most important issues facing the people of America.

The Wallace speech and Truman's shame-faced "correction" should serve once again to remind the workers that the Republicans and Democrats are following a common policy—a policy leading straight to a new world slaughter.

To fight against this common war policy of the Republicans and Democrats, vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party!

"I don't care if they are my size—what do you think I'm going to do — walk!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

INFLATION IS COMING! by Ralph Borsodi. Published by Bayard Lane, Inc., 1945-46, 61 pages. $1.

The author of this book, written in popular style, is a retired consulting economist for big employers, including R. H. Macy and the National Retail Dry Goods Association.

His claim to fame rests upon the fact that he was not deceived by the big boom of the '20s. On the contrary, he predicted that "America was heading toward a great disaster." The 1929 collapse confirmed his prediction. Now in this book, which is well advertised and has had two printings, Borsodi predicts the worst depression in all history, which will make the last one look like prosperity.

With charts and figures, Borsodi proves that all previous wars produced the evils of unemployment and inflation. The national debt mounted over the years to staggering proportions. In World War I the national debt per capita was $11.96. Today the hidden national mortgage clamped around the necks of every family in the U. S. has grown to $7,960. The "pay-off," he states, is coming with a "frantic flight from the dollar."

The author is a supporter of the rotting capitalist system, which is responsible for these catastrophies. He apologizes for Wall Street by blaming the politicians in Washington for the bankruptcy of the system. That is like saying that only servants are guilty when they take orders from their masters.

Borsodi has no faith in any paper "securities," either of Big Business or its government. Under the runaway inflation which he states is inevitable, you can't trust government bonds or paper money any more than you can trust the stocks and bonds of Big Business.

Even life insurance will prove to be no protection. Today, he writes, a $1,000 policy, which "originally furnished beneficiaries $1,000 in purchasing power before the war, furnishes them only about $666 in purchasing power at present." Borsodi has no confidence whatever in the system he supports.

That is why the author's proposed "solution" is such a monstrosity. He wants to flee from the most obvious afflictions of capitalism, while leaving its economic and political base untouched. He wants to flee — not forward into socialism — but backward into the Dark Ages.

Borsodi proposes a "Back-to-the-land" movement, and "decentralization." He admits there is no hope for the masses of people in this proposal, only for "individual families." These few favored families, with money now in stocks and bonds, should buy a "homestead." They should "utilize all the labor of the members of the family in producing food, clothing, shelter and fuel" and everything else including weaving!

Borsodi proposes these medieval self-enclosed units in our machine age — in the epoch of mass production, imperialist wars and the atom bomb! To clinch his fantastic argument he harks back to Noah's Ark. This individualist, out of a fable, stocked his Ark "with all the things his family would need . . . He was unable to save the rest of mankind. But at least he was able to save his own family."

This is the "postwar plan" of a panic-stricken refugee from the capitalist system!

Reviewed by Larissa Reed

MEN, WOMEN AND DOGS, by James Thurber. Bantam Books, 1946, 242 p., 25 cents.

Feeling tired? Down at the mouth? Pull Thurber's **Men, Women and Dogs** out of your pocketbook. These are hilarious drawings, with more to them than a belly laugh.

Most of the cartoons are sharp satire on matrimony as it's lived today under capitalism. Righteous morality, spiritualism, and politics are also dissected with sardonic joy. The wistful dogs are so appealing that you wonder why they put up with Thurber's men and women as their keepers.

It's hard to think of a better way to have fun on 25 cents.

Reviewed by Ruth Benson

Guam—Wall Street Colonial Prize

It's something of a shock to most people to learn that the United States has become a colonial power. They remember the stirring rebellion of the original thirteen colonies in 1776 against the rule of a dictatorial foreign power. It doesn't seem natural that America, so long boasted of as the land of the free, could now be oppressing other peoples.

But the State Department has made it official. In a report to the United Nations on U. S. "colonial possessions," the State Department listed the Panama Zone (ruled by the War Department), Guam, Samoa and other Pacific islands (ruled by the Navy Department), and Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (all ruled by the Interior Department).

What do the colonies look like under American rule? Do conditions differ much from those of the colonies under the heel of the British, French, Dutch, Belgian or Portuguese despots?

STILL "ALIENS"

Let's take Guam, that small speck in the vast Pacific where 23,000 people are ruled by the Navy Department. Guam was seized from Spain in 1898, but its inhabitants are still listed as aliens — not as citizens of the United States. So far as the Guamanians are concerned, America is a brutal foreign power that rules without their consent.

The Navy report to the United Nations claims the Guamanians enjoy ideal conditions under the foreign flag that waves over their land. A different story is told by Harold L. Ickes, certain Military Government officials, and John Collier, President of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.

The facts they cite make Navy rule in Guam look like a Nazi regime in conquered territory.

Civil liberties do not exist in Guam. The word of the Navy Administration is absolute law. No appeal can be made. A Guamanian can be arrested and sentenced by a Navy rump court without jury trial.

Under the Jim Crow Admirals, the color line is sharply drawn in Guam. Because he is colored, a carpenter born on Guam may be paid only 45 cents an hour. A carpenter brought from the States gets $1.36 and up.

The Navy publicizes its "experimental farm" as one of the finest features on Guam. According to John Collier, this farm, operated at federal expense, is maintained "for the benefit of service personnel and their families and the American patrons of service messes."

OWNERS OUSTED

The farm consists of 400 acres of the best land "requisitioned from 'native' owners under the guise of military necessity." Many of these owners, "ousted from their homes and their farmlands" live as squatters on the small farms of others or are existing in "disaster" housing.

Thousands of Guamanians have been ousted from their land to make room for Navy projects, including a "handsome golf course." Very few have ever been compensated.

A local bus line belonging to Guamanians was seized by the Navy without compensation. Bus fares were then jumped 100 per cent "to 10 cents per zone of a little more than a modern city block — in order to discourage travel by 'natives.'"

The Navy report refers with pride to the Guam Congress. This body is simply window-dressing to cover up the Navy dictatorship. It has "no legislative power whatsoever — no power to make, alter or repeal laws, no power to levy or expend revenues, no power at all. These powers are wielded solely by the naval Governor."

NOTHING CHANGED

Harold Ickes, after investigation, accused the Navy of "gross mismanagement and suppression of civil rights on Guam from 1900" right down to the Japanese invasion.

Nothing is being done by the Truman Administration to change this shameful picture. "What the Navy wants," says the Sept. 12 **Christian Science Monitor**, "is to govern throughout that area free from inspection and outside interference."

The ugly Navy dictatorship in Guam shows once again how far the brutal postwar realities of colonial rule differ from the lying Atlantic Charter propaganda about fighting the Second World War for "four freedoms." The American capitalists are just as hypocritical, cynical and despotic as their British class brothers.

BROOKLYN
Autumn Ball
SATURDAY, SEPT. 28
Entertainment . . Dancing
Socialist Workers Party
635 Fulton St. 8:30 p.m.

Why The Veterans Remain Homeless

By Ruth Benson

Over 4,000,000 veterans and their families will be homeless this winter, while billions of dollars are being spent to erect race-tracks, night clubs, stores and offices. In New York City, Charles G. Bolte, Chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, laid the blame on a "systematic campaign . . . waged by the private builders, real estate interests and the government's Civilian Production Administration (CPA) to undermine the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program."

His speech, reported in the **N. Y. Times**, Sept. 13, warned that "we may well have squatters in America this winter. In fact, our homeless veterans will take over summer estates and boarded up Fifth Avenue brownstones unless we move now . . . to break the housing bottleneck."

The Emergency Housing Program called for the starting of 1,200,000 new dwelling units in 1946. In the first seven months of the year, barely half were begun, and only one-sixth, 287,100 units, were finished. The completed units included 18,600 trailers and 25,500 quonset huts and other temporary shelters unfit for permanent use.

Even if the 1946 goal were reached, it would leave three-fourths of today's homeless veterans without a roof over their heads. It would do nothing to provide for the increasing population. It would not replace ancient buildings.

In Los Angeles, for instance, where 125,000 families are already homeless, the population is increasing at the rate of 25,000 a month. Everywhere, tenements burn down, collapse from decay, or are razed to make room for commercial buildings. Their occupants swell the ranks of the homeless.

While the situation grows constantly worse, John D. Small, head of the CPA, "has consistently demonstrated that he is more interested in 'protecting' commercial construction than he is in getting homes for veterans," Bolte charged, in a **PM** article on Sept. 15. He said that Small is worried only about the "dangerous low" of COMMERCIAL construction — which runs to $35 millions a week!

The priorities given veterans for building materials, are a mockery. Veterans cannot afford to build at the black market prices demanded by contractors. A veteran is lucky if he can pay as much as $6,500 for a new home, or $48 a month for rent. But the house that sold for $6,500 in February, Bolte reveals, "now costs over $10,000 — a 65 per cent rise." Builders are "interested mainly in higher-cost homes."

Building costs, according to a chart in the Big Business magazine **United States News**, are higher than any time since 1927. Bolte reveals that builders' profits average 25 per cent. Rents, the **United States News** chart shows, are the highest in history! Yet this magazine, which is a spokesman for industry, demands still higher rents and a greater margin of profit on building.

The greedy real-estate interests are not concerned about the plight of millions of homeless men, women and children. The more acute the crisis grows, the more arrogant they become.

Only a full-scale program for low-cost housing, financed by the government, can meet the needs of the homeless. Workers and veterans must demand that the 18 billion dollars appropriated for war, be used instead to aid the victims of war by building low-cost federal housing — today!

Buffalo CIO Council Condemns Red-Baiting

Striking a vigorous blow in defense of democratic rights in the labor movement, the Greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council (CIO) on Sept. 10 voted 90 to 10 to adopt a resolution condemning "red-baiting in any form."

Recently several CIO unions were attacked in a statement issued by members of an auto local who walked out of a "Win-the-Peace Rally" here. The Council resolution was a direct answer to this red-baiting drive.

For two and a half hours, delegates at the Council meeting took the floor to point out that red-baiting is a danger to the union movement and an aid to the bosses.

Vincent Copeland of United Steelworkers Local 2601 led off the discussion, pointing out that red-baiting plays into the hands of the anti-labor interests. Chris Keegan of United Auto Workers Local 424 stated that fascism is growing in this country, and red-baiting is one of its methods of dividing the working people. Frank Leason, port agent of the National Maritime Union, denounced the reactionary elements who bring these boss-inspired ideas into the unions, and he also demanded that a picket line be thrown around the viciously anti-labor **Buffalo Evening News**.

Introducing the motion against red-baiting, Marie Plassman of UAW Local 501 pointed out that the CIO constitution guarantees every member the right to his own political views. She condemned the action of those CIO members who had been guilty of issuing reactionary statements to the capitalist press, attacking other CIO unions and members.

Stalinist supporters made only a feeble appeal against red-baiting as "un-American."

The red-baiting statements had been published in the **Buffalo Evening News**, which is carrying on a vicious anti-labor drive in connection with its campaign to whip up hysteria against the Soviet Union. The **Evening News** tries to call the workers' struggles against high prices "a communist plot" against the government.

This red-baiting was carried into the unions by some reactionary elements. There are indications that a line-up is being established by some union officials, together with the Catholic Labor group, who are anxious to combat the militant spirit of the workers. They would like to wipe out union democracy by using the old witch-hunt methods. The Buffalo CIO Council is to be congratulated for its sharp response to these anti-labor tactics.

Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent The Third World War!
—the historic MANIFESTO of the Fourth International, April 1946
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
32 Pages 10 Cents
116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Cleveland Boss Tries New Trick

Editor:

I work at Ohio Crankshaft here in Cleveland. Long experience in industry, especially in auto, has hardened me to any tricks the bosses will pull in order to increase and speed-up production. But the latest stunt almost floored me.

All of us in the shop were shedding crocodile tears for the company which maintains that it is losing money—plenty of money, especially on the scrap the men make (some crankshafts cost $35,000 and up.) Management thinks we're too stupid to read past the comic strip in the daily papers. It thinks we don't know of the corporate tax rates of the government that guarantee manufacturers their average 1935-39 income for two years after the war is officially declared over.

The latest stunt showed up in our pay checks. A little slip was inserted between the actual pay check and the statement of tax deductions. It said:

WARNING
KEEP SOME OF THIS CHECK YOU MAY NEED IT SOON.

* * *

STOCK MARKET CRASHES USUALLY MEAN TROUBLE AHEAD. HIGH COSTS ARE LEADING TO BUYING STRIKES. BUYING STRIKES MEAN LESS BUSINESS AND CANCELLATION OF ORDERS.

* * *

GET THE WORK OUT WHILE WE HAVE IT TO DO.

B. K.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Enjoys Seeing Crooks Exposed

Editor:

I read **The Militant** and I sure enjoy reading how your paper exposes the crook and racketeers. When I read in a recent issue of how the General Electric monopoly blocked a new cure for cancer I was glad that **The Militant** had the courage to print it.

R. O.
Portland, Ore.

Youth Group Activities

CHICAGO, — Youth Group meets Friday, 8 p.m. at 777 W. Adams St.

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Thursday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educationals by Youth and SWP speakers.

NEW YORK. — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Sunday, 8 p.m., at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 W. 23rd St. Dancing, refreshments follow.

Queens — Open forums every Wednesday at Odd Fellows Temple, 160th St. and 90th Ave., 8 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

* * *

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

Worker's Wife Scores Packers' Meat Famine

Editor:

I just read the evening paper and have enclosed a little item—"Special Meat Offer." I'm furious!

The Save-Way Market is offering $50,000 worth of meat to "Hotels, Clubs, Restaurants and Others" who have private meat lockers—because it "must be sold before September 9," the date retail meat-prices go back under control! Beef, veal, lamb, hams, bacon, pork loins, and lard are included.

The ad warns: "Remember the days of meat shortages, Daily line-ups to get a couple of pounds of meat. On and after Sept. 9, meat supplies will again be strictly limited."

What worker's wife has a locker? To say nothing of the money to stock it to take care of her family during this coming meat famine that is to be imposed on us by the meat packers. We live from one pay-check to the next.

How much longer are housewives going to put up with such things?

We're not organized, we can't stop a thing. But what we put up with under this system of "free enterprise" is enough to force us either to organize to change this system or nag our husbands into forcing organized labor to do something about us.

They herd us into the stores at 9 a.m. every Friday morning, in hopes they'll put out some soap, salad dressing, canned fruit, toilet tissue, etc. When they wheel out one carton for a store full of women, we push and shove to get a box. Then we sometimes stand in line an hour to pay for the stuff.

Now, after one year of this beautiful postwar world, we are facing another "meat famine," due not to a scarcity of meat, but to a "scarcity" of profits for the owners of the Big Four packing plants. So again we'll get out our cook books labeled "meat substitutes" and beat our brains trying to raise healthy children on substitutes.

Incidentally, women shouldn't have to cook three meals a day, 365 days a year. It's outmoded. The shiny efficient cafeterias have potato peelers, and all kinds of machines to do the work that each woman does on a small scale in her individual kitchen—with a paring knife. A bushel of potatoes could be peeled in the time it makes me to peel a few for my family.

Who is going to do something about this meat famine? Here is one housewife who is fed up with it before it happens. Remember the days of the meat shortage, indeed! The arrogance of those meat packers!

Alice Patton
Temperance, Mich.

Stalinist Threats Win 'Militant' Friends

Editor:

On Friday, Sept. 6, three of us distributed **The Militant** and sold pamphlets in Camden, N. J., to workers of the Campbell Soup and RCA plants. A Stalinist began to call us names and pull **Militants** out of the hands of workers who had accepted them.

As I was talking to a large group of workers who had bought pamphlets from me, he came over and called me a "fascist, a strike-breaker and a Ku Klux Klanner," and tried to tear the literature out of the workers' hands. I challenged him to "explain" why he called us such names. I pointed out our program in **The Militant**, explained the role of the Communist Party during the war, its support of the no-strike pledge, and so on.

The workers were listening closely. I asked them to read our literature and read the Stalinist literature too, not to look at only one side of any question.

Infuriated because the group around us was listening to me, the Stalinist yelled:

"Wait until you come into my neighborhood with that paper. I'll slap your face." (Incidentally this same Stalinist had threatened me with violence when I ran across him in last Fall's sub campaign).

His threat made up the workers' minds. Every one of them held his paper and pamphlet more firmly. And in less than an hour we distributed 500 **Militants** and sold all the pamphlets we had with us — 70 copies of "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow" and "Build A Labor Party Now." We have also created lots of good will for our future work.

Therese Stone
Philadelphia

A Victory—Almost—Against Jim Crow

Editor:

The August-September issue of the **NAACP Bulletin**, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, carries a very unusual news story.

In Philadelphia, in the NAACP office, a bus driver actually apologized for having ordered a Negro passenger to sit in the rear of the bus. And the passenger was paid for the ticket which he did not use.

But the story ends by saying that the NAACP has urged "that some action also be taken against the police officer who ejected Mr. Wall from the bus when he did not move to the rear."

So far, obviously, the cop hasn't been bothered by his superiors. This is a clear example of what really props up Jim Crow —the government and all its agencies, from "law-enforcing" cops on up to the top ruling bodies.

NAACP Member
New York, N. Y.

'The Four Freedoms'

Paris: 'A System Falling Apart'

Editor:

Here in Paris one sees a whole system in the process of falling apart. Everything is difficult — even minor things.

It took me three days to find a few electric light bulbs. When a window pane broke last winter, it was ten days before I could find someone who had a large enough piece of glass and could come to my district to put it in.

There is not enough heat (wood and coal are difficult to find even for my very small stove). Even finding food is a problem with all the scarcities.

A Reader
Paris, France

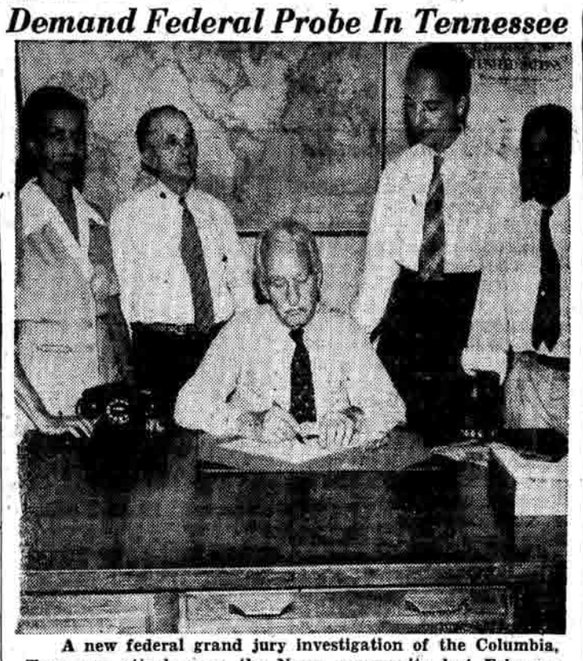
Pennsylvania Miner Circulates 'Militant'

Editor:

We recently visited the mining towns of Laurence and Library, Pennsylvania, to secure renewals of **Militant** subscriptions. With rare exceptions, colored miners accept the paper as their best champion, and renew their subscriptions unhesitatingly. One took a batch of sub blanks to circulate among his lodge brothers.

Eloise Gordon
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Demand Federal Probe In Tennessee



A new federal grand jury investigation of the Columbia, Tennessee attack upon the Negro community last February was asked by Nashville unionists and representatives of minority groups. Signing the petition is Dr. Alva Taylor, Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Standing, left to right: Pres. R. Catachings, Southern Negro Youth Congress; Pres. J. D. Roberts, Nashville Industrial Council (CIO); Laurent Franz, southern field director, Civil Rights Congress; Rev. B. H. Jones, AFL Moulders and Foundry Workers.

Federated Pictures

Resigns When CP Supports Candidates Of Wall Street

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Miriam Etlin, active for eight years in the Communist (Stalinist) Party in Camden, N. J., has announced her resignation from the CP. The support given by the Stalinists to Wall Street's Democratic machine in the 1946 election convinced her that the CP "gives lip service to the class struggle and practices class collaboration."

In her letter of resignation, Comrade Etlin attacked the Stalinist policy of supporting so-called "progressive" Democrats and Republicans for office.

"Progressive sections of these two parties do not exist," she declared. "You cannot build a mass revolutionary party by placing the workers in an alliance with the very instruments used by capitalism to help oppress them. These two parties have time and again proved their connection with capital.

NOT "MISTAKES"

"To me these are no longer just mistakes but an indication that the Communist Party does not base, and has not based itself on the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

Comrade Etlin said that after serious study she came to the conclusion that "The characterization of Trotskyists as fascists" is "slander, pure and simple."

"It is inconceivable and illogical," she pointed out, "to so categorize people because they represent an opposing point of view on the struggle for socialism . . . Things I see and my association with Trotskyists have made me think more clearly. It is now a question of studying and finding out for myself — instead of just reading Communist Party interpretations of the Moscow Trials and Communist Party interpretations of what Tortsky stood for."

"My own record in the Communist Party," she continued, "has been one of complete immersion in mass work, teaching the working people that I came in contact with the elemental truths of the class struggle and a revolutionary outlook. Because I could always see the pattern in my own mind, in my work, I endowed the Communist Party with the same firmness . . .

"Had I taken out time to read and study and avail myself of all the material, including the publications of the Trotskyists, I would not have remained in the ranks of the Communist Party for eight years."

"At this writing," concluded Comrade Etlin, "I am making preparations to join the Socialist Workers Party to give real meaning to the eight years that I spent under the mistaken notion that I was a member of a Leninist Party."

Toledo Readers

The Toledo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has moved to temporary headquarters located at 370 West Bancroft, Tel. ADams 2304.

Watch THE MILITANT for announcement of permanent headquarters.

Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations your address is not complete unless it shows your postal zone number. For example: **The Militant's** zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of **The Militant**. Check the address stamped on **The Militant** mailed to you and sure to send it to us at once to assure delivery of your paper.

Send your zone number to:

Business Manager
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

CP Expels Two Editors Of "New Masses"

(Special to The Militant)

Ruth McKenney and her husband, Bruce Minton, have been expelled from the Communist (Stalinist) Party, according to the Sept. 12 **Daily Worker**, because they called "for the immediate organization of a 'class-conscious labor party'."

Ruth McKenney is author of the best-seller, **My Sister Eileen**, and other books. Minton is co-author of **Men Who Lead Labor.**

Until April 16, 1946, both were editors of the **New Masses**, leading Stalinist weekly in the United States. Since that date their names have not appeared on the masthead. No explanation was given for their removal.

The expulsions created a sensation among Hollywood and theatrical circles where the two have long been active representatives of Stalinism.

The two were accused by the Connecticut Stalinist State Committee of conducting "a vicious struggle against the policies of the National Committee regarding the role of the Party in the 1946 elections." The Stalinists are supporting Wall Street's Democratic machine.

The accusation said the people were "in contact with anti-Party forces outside of the branch." The **Daily Worker** did not specify whether these "anti-Party forces" were followers of Earl Browder who was expelled last year.

NO CAPITALIST PEACE

"Characteristic of petty-bourgeois 'radicalism'," said the **Daily Worker**, "they attacked Comrade Foster for calling upon the Party and the American people to fight for world peace on the grounds that it is impossible under capitalism to check the outbreaks of war or to achieve a period of peace."

The Sept. 13 **N. Y. Times** quoted Bruce Minton as declaring over the telephone that "both of us consider ourselves loyal members" of the CP and "shall always do our utmost in every way to build the present organization and to strengthen the Marxist Party of the working class."

Minton told the **Times** he had wired the **"Daily Worker** and "respectfully requested" a correction in the article on their expulsion. The telegram asserted that they "did not and do not belong to any faction" and the Norwalk, Conn. Branch, where they are members, "voted not to expel us."

Flint Unionists Buy Pioneer's New Pamphlets

Three weeks ago we quoted a letter from the **Flint Branch** of the Socialist Workers Party telling of their success in selling the pamphlet **Veterans and Labor** at a meeting of Chevrolet Local 651 UAW-CIO. Now they are following up on this success, and **Z. Lerner** writes:

"I want to inform you that we had another sale of the pamphlets **Veterans and Labor** and **Build a Labor Party Now** before union meetings of the Chevrolet, Fisher Body and A. C. Locals of the UAW. Altogether 67 pamphlets were sold, compared with 23 of the last time.

"There were also a few small contributors for literature, and three new subscriptions for **The Militant** were obtained from Chevrolet workers. It indicates that there is an increasingly sympathic attitude of the auto workers toward our party literature and program."

And Comrade Lerner then goes on to order a long list of books and pamphlets needed by the rapidly growing Flint Branch. Fine work, Flint! We hope you will continue to keep us informed on how and where you sell Pioneer literature.

* * *

New York Branch is beginning to make good use of **Build a Labor Party Now** in connection with its election campaign. "This pamphlet sells very easily at our street meetings," reports one of the comrades. "The list of SWP candidates on the back page is a fine idea, and ought to get us votes from many workers who buy this pamphlet and who want an independent labor party."

* * *

Veterans and Labor by Charles Carsten, 10c.
Building a Labor Party Now by George Clarke, 10c.
Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Pittsburgh Quadruples Sub Goal For August

Comrades in the **Pittsburgh Branch** of the Socialist Workers Party obtained 45 subscriptions to **The Militant** during August —**more than four times** their monthly goal of 10! The latest report from **Eloise Gordon** tells the reason for their high percentage:

"Enclosed are 23 subscriptions to the paper. Sixteen of these are miners' renewals. Comrade Rand Morris is setting an example for all of us in Pittsburgh in obtaining renewals. These latest represent 100 per cent success in the calls he made Sunday."

* * *

Minneapolis Branch too went over its quota. **A. Field** writes: "Enclosed are two subs. This brings our total number of subs for the month of August to 41—one over our quota. We still have callbacks to be made and we plan on working on these during the next month."

* * *

Three other branches hit the bull's-eye in their subscription targets for August—**Milwaukee, Portland** and **St. Louis.**

The 36 subs sent in by **St. Louis** more than doubled their goal. **Dick Clarke** commented: "Looks like the whole St. Louis Branch is going to work on subs."

Portland sent in 17 subs, and a promise from **Pete Hesser** of more subs to follow: "I hope that we will have a lot more renewals in the next few weeks. It is slow work because so many subscribers are not home or we have to wait until they get paid. For Portland the work is rather slow, but we will get there . . ."

Milwaukee sent in 36 subs.

* * *

Akron Branch has made plans for a thorough coverage of all the expired subscriptions in its area. The following report from **Milt Genecin** came with 16 subs — a good beginning for their call-back work: "We had a 'mobilization' of six comrades who went out on Labor Day and got all but a few of the 16. The 'few' were obtained in the shop. We plan to go out about every other Sunday for the next few months so that we can clean up the call-backs and try a few new neighborhoods."

* * *

St. Paul Branch, after completing the job of getting Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in Minnesota, is again going after subscriptions. "Enclosed is a batch of subs," writes **Paul Chelstrom.** "As you know we accepted a quota of 25 but we couldn't make it for August because we started late.

"Four of us went out Sunday and two of us last Friday. One comrade obtained five last Sunday in the Negro neighborhood using the issue with the headline, 'Lynchers Named by Negro Victim.' As a whole, the subs have been coming in from all the branch members, which is good because then we know they are all thinking about subs."

* * *

Bronx Branch of New York Local is selling subscriptions at its street corner meetings. **Sam Ryan**, Organizer, reports that "one of the things Bronx Branch stresses at its election campaign open air meetings is the selling of subscriptions to **The Militant.** At a meeting on Sept. 6 four subs were sold, each by a different comrade. And this is only the beginning."

* * *

Several of the branches have found an increase in their bundle orders necessary.

Al Lynn, Los Angeles: "Please send us 1,000 extra copies of **The Militant** carrying our story about nomination of candidates for Governor and State Assembly."

S. Brooks, Boston: "Please send 400 copies of **The Militant** for the next issue. This is on account of the seamen's strike here in Boston."

Boston Branch also requests that we increase their regular **Militant** bundle to 200 copies a week. Comrade Brooks explains: "The increase is for the sub drive in Boston area beginning next Sunday."

Clara Kaye, Seattle: "Would you please send us 500 additional copies of **The Militant.** They are for the seamen's picket lines."

* * *

The Militant Army ranks, made up of **Militant** boosters, are growing.

H. W. Bodholdt of Minneapolis contributed $2.

J. Campbell of New York City sent $2 stating: "Sorry I didn't renew my subscription earlier. Please add the $1.50 to your fund."

A Militant booster in the merchant marine brought a sub to our office for a friend

Leo Gleisser of Cleveland sent a one-year combination sub to **The Militant** and **Fourth International** for a friend, explaining: "The subscriber is 24 years old, a university student, a veteran, at present a factory worker, a good union man, a former Young Communist Leaguer. I have had discussions with him and have brought him over to our viewpoint."

LOS ANGELES ELECTION RALLY
"Stop Fascist G.L.K. Smith In California!"
Hear the
Socialist Workers Party Candidates
STEVE ROBERTS, For Governor
CYNTHIA ROGALIN,
For State Senator, L. A. County
Sunday, September 29
Embassy South Hall 843 So. Grand Ave.
8 p. m.

TWIN CITIES
Campaign Carnival
SATURDAY, OCT. 5
Refreshments . . . Fun
Auspices: Twin Cities SWP
Socialist Workers Party Headquarters
10 South 4th St. Minneapolis
From 8:30 p.m.

BOSTON WORKERS FORUM

Every Sunday Afternoon
SEPTEMBER 22
Hear
MILTON RICHARDSON
SWP candidate for Lieut-Gov. of New York State
Speak on
"The Meaning Of The Wave Of Terror Against The Negro People"
September 29
Lawrence P. Trainer, SWP Organizer
Will Speak on
"A Socialist Answer To Your Rising Cost Of Living"
Workers Educational Center
30 Stuart Street 3 p.m.

NEWARK
Hear The SWP Candidates
FRIDAY, SEPT. 27
ALAN KOHLMAN, for Governor
speaking on
"The Fight For Housing"
W. BOHANNON, for Congress, 11th Dist.
speaking on
"Housing And Jim Crow"
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
423 Springfield Ave. 8:30 p.m.

NEW YORK
Indian Summer Picnic
at Hunter's Island
Sunday, September 22
Baseball . . . Games . . . Swimming . . . Songfest
Pinic Lunch Grilled Over Open Fires
A Whole Summer's Vacation In A Day!
Directions:
Meet at 10 a.m. at 116 University Pl. or 103 W. 110th
Or:
Take IRT 241st St. White Plains Rd. to Pelham Pkwy.
Or:
Take IRT Pelham Bay Line to last stop; take "Orchard Park" bus downstairs to Orchard Beach Traffic Circle. We will meet you there at 11:30 a.m.
All Militant Readers Invited
In case of rain: all-day social at 116 University Place.

Newark Social
Saturday, Sept. 21
Dancing . . . Refreshments
423 Springfield 8:30 p.m.

Now on Sale
Fourth International
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Indian Correspondence By K. Tilak
A Documentary History of the Fourth International By Leon Trotsky
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116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Labor Party Debated By Ohio CIO, PAC Parleys

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., Sept. 14—The four-day state convention of the Ohio CIO, held at the Goodrich Rubber Workers Local 5 hall this week, witnessed a significant debate over the national CIO policy concerning wages and a labor party.

Jack Kroll, president of the Ohio CIO and National PAC Director, succeeding Sidney Hillman, carried the ball for the policies of Philip Murray and did everything in his power to prevent the 842 delegates assembled from having a thoroughgoing discussion on the crucial questions. Nevertheless, progressive delegates managed to break through the bureaucratic procedure.

A resolution calling for an escalator clause providing for automatic wage increases to meet increased living costs, sent in by Youngstown Steelworkers Local 1330, was buried in committee and never reported out. But speaking on a resolution calling for an annual wage, several delegates brought the need for a rising scale of wages to the convention floor.

WAGE POLICY DEBATE

Delegates from the Akron rubber unions, the United Auto Workers and from the United Steelworkers, stated their support for an escalator clause and revealed the inadequacy of just an annual wage.

So sympathetic were the delegates that Kroll found it necessary to take the floor himself. His argument against the escalator clause was a mere falsification. "We would give the employers a weapon," he stated, "with which to drive wages down should prices fall." This argument was repeated by several CIO staff men and by the Stalinists.

The stupidity of the argument was clearly exposed by delegate Vincent Frazer, of the Cleveland UAW, who said," When you open an agreement on wages you first establish minimum base pay and then secure an escalator clause to insure wage increases to meet price increases. Wages can never fall during the period of the agreement below the established minimum. There is no other way to protect us against inflation."

The vote on this question was handled in a manner very difficult for those who advocated the escalator clause. In order to insert the escalator clause into the program it would have been necessary to defeat the resolution on the annual wage and send it back to committee. Workers who were for an escalator clause were reluctant to vote against an annual wage. Nevertheless, a very large vote to defeat the resolution was mustered.

LABOR PARTY ISSUE

The debate on the PAC and endorsement of candidates in state elections was marked by an eruption of demands for a labor party. Here again a resolution had been previously sent in calling for a labor party and was conveniently tucked away in a waste basket by the hand-picked Resolutions Committee.

Speaking on the policy report of CIO officers which called for a PAC-building campaign, Youngstown delegate Theodore Dostal said, "It is obvious to everyone that what we gain on the economic front is being taken away from us on the political front. I am 100 per cent for the building of the PAC and for the strengthening of our political arm. But in order to really answer our political problem it is necessary for us not merely to beg for favors from the two old parties but to build our own independent labor party."

PAC PARLEY HELD

The important question of endorsements of candidates was referred to a meeting of the state PAC which was convened after the official adjournment of the Ohio CIO convention. This deliberate maneuver by the top officials resulted in the departure of two-thirds of the CIO delegates after adjournment of the convention and prior to the convening of the PAC session.

The PAC session was handled in the most insultingly bureaucratic manner. Although the session had been called for the purpose of considering endorsements, the whole question was not even put to a vote. Endorsements of the state PAC top officers were announced, but the delegates were not given a chance to vote on them. The only questions put to a vote were the routine matters of the PAC campaign to collect finances, register voters and conduct the election campaign.

"THE LESSER EVIL"

Nevertheless, under the question of registration, delegate Jules Geller of Goodrich Rubber Local 5, of Akron, took sharp issue with PAC policy. Describing his own experiences, Geller stated, "I have approached many workers in my department asking them to register and have been told over and over again, 'What's the use of registering when I have nobody to vote for?'

"There is certainly a disease of apathy among the workers, but its cause is not the ignorance of union men and women. The cause is that they have been disillusioned with the old policy of seeking favors from Democratic or Republican politicians. They cannot be inspired any longer by the famous lesser evil, which we have heard so much about."

Commenting on the fact that the state CIO did not endorse any candidate for Governor in Ohio, Geller continued, "It is a shameful thing that the Ohio CIO, representing over 350,000 organized workers, and the rest of the powerful labor movement of Ohio, has no one to represent it at the head of the ticket in this state.

"In 1944 my local union called for the formation of a labor party. But, 'No' we were told, 'now is not the time.' Instead the state CIO endorsed Governor Lausche to represent labor. Today, we find that Governor Lausche, who two years ago was painted up as the lesser evil, can no longer be stomached by our officers. It seems the lesser got lesser and the evil got eviller!'

"I ask you, Brother Chairman, when will be the time for a labor party? Are we to await the passage of all the anti-labor bills in Congress? Should we wait until the labor movement has been weakened and hacked to pieces?"

As the chair called time on him, Geller concluded, "I see my time is runing short. But time is running short not only for me. It is running short for the whole labor movement. History is calling time on the policies of the CIO leadership. History is calling — time for a labor party."

Kroll quickly revealed that he was stunned by the sharp remarks of the Akron delegate. He immediately left the chair and rose to answer him in person. His tone was mildly apologetic and fatherly. He said, "An independent labor party is a fine and outstanding theory and is in the minds of all CIO leaders. Because premature action and failure would set us back many years politically, we have been attempting to get practical experience in the political field and educate our members in politics first."

He did not mention the practical experience of the workers with Lausche, Truman and all the other capitalist politicians who have stabbed labor in the back.

Kroll was not so gentle, however, when delegate after delegate began to take the floor in support of the labor party. He hammered them down and shut off debate on this question.

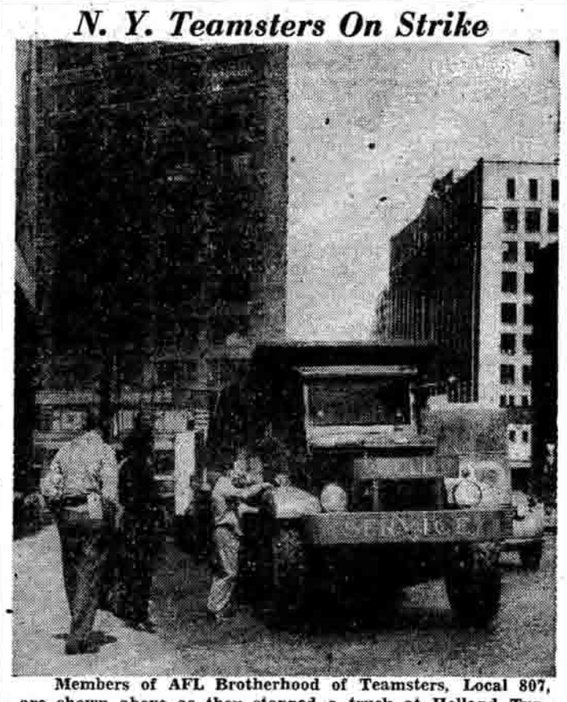
The convention passed several progressive resolutions, including a resolution on old age benefits and a resolution on unemployment compensation, both of which included the demand for a rising scale of benefits to meet increased living costs.

C.I.O. Delegates Fight Jim Crow

AKRON, O., Sept. 14. — Reacting quickly to the refusal of a restaurant to serve on out-of-town Negro delegate to the state CIO Convention here, a committee of 50 delegates was organized on the floor of the convention and marched down Main Street to educate the proprietor.

The mission was a complete success. After brief negotiations, the proprietor apologized to the Negro delegate and instructed his employees to serve anyone and everyone regardless of race or color. The convention applauded the report of the successful action.

N. Y. Teamsters On Strike



Members of AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 807, are shown above as they stopped a truck at Holland Tunnel, vital link between New York City and New Jersey. Truck drivers were out solidly, demanding a 30 per cent wage boost. Story on Page 1.

Federated Pictures

Striking Truckdrivers Show Fighting Spirit At Meeting

By Evelyn Atwood

(Staff Reporter, The Militant)

NEW YORK, Sept. 12—Mayor O'Dwyer's red-baiting attempt to discredit and break the truck drivers' powerful 12-day-old strike here blew up in his face at the membership meeting called this afternoon by Local 807, AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters, at Manhattan Center.

Over 4,000 enraged truckdrivers contemptuously brushed aside his red-scare propaganda by roaring their rejection of the phony "settlements" proposed by the greedy bosses and the "bosses' man" O'Dwyer. The strikers scotched any attempts of their union leadership to make any rotten compromises. "We demand an apology from the Mayor," they shouted, slapping him out of the picture.

The stormy yet disciplined meeting lasted almost four hours. The big hall was jammed to the rafters. Some 1,000 truckdrivers were denied admittance under fire law restrictions.

The men roared "No" to proposals to let Local 807 chain-grocery trucks roll and to return to work pending negotiations. "No contract—no work," was their answer. They limited the powers of the Negotiating Committee strictly to negotiations—all power to ratify any settlements remained in the hands of the rank-and-file.

AGAINST BOSSES

The tone of the meeting was set after the opening placating speech of the Chairman, John E. Strong, president of Local 807. Strong denied that he had stated there was a revolt of the membership against their leaders. "I say it is not a revolt against the leadership, but a revolt against the employers."

After establishing their position in the main fight against the bosses, the battling truckdrivers came to grips with their leaders.

When Strong read about the telegram from International President Daniel J. Tobin to the truckdrivers urging them to carry out their contracts, the membership shouted back: "Now read that other telegram from Tobin to the Mayor and the press!" This telegram admitted that the striking workers had a just cause and that the strike could be settled as soon as the employers came to terms.

Strong said he didn't have a copy of this telegram with him. Immediately shouts came back: "We've got copies!" One of the truckdrivers rushed to the platform and handed the statement to Strong. The men grinned as he read it into the loud speaker.

A dead-pan silence prevailed when Strong lauded Tobin as "one of the greatest labor leaders in the country."

The main debates took place over the questions of rolling Local 807 chain-grocery trucks, and going back to work pending negotiations. Strong tried to assure the truckdrivers "there would be no trouble" getting them retroactive pay. "Negotiate an 807 contract!" the men retorted.

STOP SLANDER

David Kaplan, chief economist for the Teamsters International, tried to smear rank-and-file militants as "Street Corner Napoleons."

Kaplan was concerned with getting trucks to roll and weakening the strike. He disguised it at first by pleading for "the women and children" who needed medicines. He complained that the men were halting trucks loaded with medical supplies.

"Take that back, Kaplan, it's a lie and you're on the air!" the men shouted indignantly. The meeting was being broadcast. A truckdriver took the microphone on the floor and stated that he drove a medical truck and was not stopped. Kaplan regained order only after he retracted his charge.

Then he pleaded to let all grocery trucks roll. When he tacked on a plea to roll newsprint also, the hall was thrown into a general uproar. "No good!" "Another sleigh-ride!" "Nothing doing!" Kaplan hastily turned the meeting back to Strong.

Strong urged the men to go back to work pending negotiations as the "best step Local 807 could take." Jeers and boos greeted his remarks, but he pushed the proposal to a motion.

In the discussion from the floor which followed, the Chairman recognized first the few stooges who were advocating that the strike front be narrowed. One speaker who wanted "to go back to work," declared: "Local 807 has 12,000 members. This is entirely too large. It should be broken up." Pandemonium broke loose and he was howled down.

"TALK CONTRACT!"

"This is a scheme to divide the food workers from general trucking," Sam Harris, driver for J. A. Patterson, shouted over the microphone. "Let's stop talking about food and talk about a contract. We truckdrivers are going to fight all together and win—or we'll all go down together." He received an ovation.

Another driver emphasized unity and a contract for the whole local. "We want conditions as well as pay, before we roll. We want a raise in pay, a 40-hour week, two weeks' vacation with pay and get rid of the supplements (extra duties) — and we want it in black and white." Still another driver warned: "Don't try to divide 807 into two separate units. We won't stand for it! Let's stick together, boys!" The rafters shook with the deafening roar of applause.

VOTE TO STAY OUT

Eddie Gorman, a general driver, provided the final clincher: "If you won't listen to the rank and file, then we'll pick out a rank-and-file committee to sit with you in negotiations and let you know what is on all our minds!"

The motion to let any 807 trucks roll was voted down with a thunderous "No!" Another formal vote unanimously rejected the employers' proposal that the men go back to work pending negotiations. Only one "concession" was made. The men agreed that Locals 282 and 816 could participate in the negotiations together with Local 807.

But in a final powerful demonstration, the truckdrivers reaffirmed the limitations of this negotiating body. They affirmed that all settlements are to be brought before the membership for ratification.

Wages, Prices And Profits

Capitalist Waste Of Human Labor

By Warren Creel

Last week we started to examine human labor which is wasted in commodity selling. The individual capitalist hires workers to get customers away from the other capitalists. It is necessary for the other capitalists to hire workers to get the customers back. But this selling labor produces nothing and is **not** necessary for society.

Along with commodity selling waste there is also a small amount of labor in real distribution, and this latter labor is useful and necessary. Capitalist economists, however, use the word "distribution" for both kinds of work. When they say "distribution" they are using one part of real distribution as a cloak to cover nine parts of sheer competitive waste.

Such waste has grown into a large factor in capitalism. Capitalist contentment with this state of affairs appears in the following statement by the president of the Curtis Publishing Company. His firm happens to publish the **Saturday Evening Post** and other magazines that make money from advertising.

"You probably will be surprised — most people are — to learn that **over half of our working population is engaged in distribution** and servicing things already made. And even with this large segment of our population already engaged in it, I believe that distribution offers greater opportunities to young men and women than any other phase of economic endeavor." (Emphasis ours.)

A little over half a century ago the bulk of the workers were in production. Today over half are in non-productive labor, and the proportion of wasted labor keeps growing. As efficiency in production has grown, capitalism has put the population to living on the output of fewer and fewer industrial workers.

Figure 4 illustrates this process.

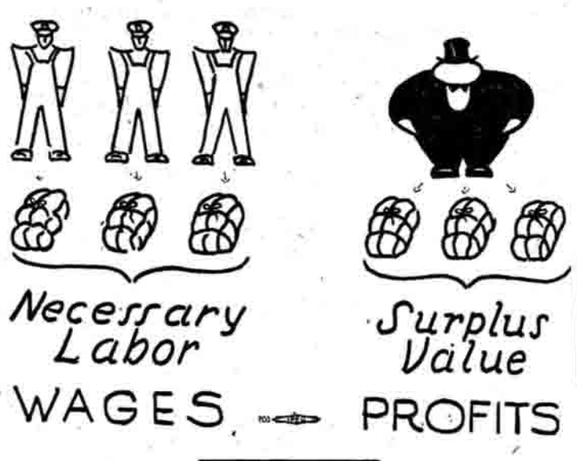
Part 1 roughly illustrates an early phase of capitalist division of the goods produced. The six bales of goods represent the total output of labor. This can be the output in any length of time we choose; let's call it a week. The three productive workers produce the six bales, so each productive worker produces two bales.

Each worker needs one bale of goods a week to support himself and his family. This fraction of the output of his labor is necessary for the worker to live, so the Marxists call it **Necessary Labor.** Through the wage bargaining system, as we have seen, the workers get the product of that **Necessary Labor** as wages. The workers get enough to live on. Each worker in the diagram gets one bale of goods.

The rest of the output of the three workers, over and above the **Necessary Labor,** represents what Marxists call Surplus Labor or **Surplus Value.** In Part 1 of the diagram that comes to three bales and the capitalist keeps them as profit. Thus, the three bales of Necessary Labor are the same as the Wages; the three bales of Surplus Value are the same as the Profit.

In Part 2 productivity has great increased. It now takes only one productive worker to produce six bales of goods. But still a worker is able to survive on one bale a week so his wages stay at one bale. The capitalist class, with a larger mass of surplus value, spends some of it, hiring workers to compete for customers. So two workers are moved from production to unproductive labor, carrying sandwich boards saying: "Buy Brown's Boots," and "Buy Black's Boots." They are still hard at work, but they produce no labor-value, and the capitalist must pay their wages out of surplus value.

1. CAPITALIST DIVISION OF THE PRODUCT. Three productive workers produce six bales. Low productivity means low incomes.



2. CAPITALIST WASTE OF HUMAN LABOR. One productive workers produce six bales. Low productivity means low incomes.

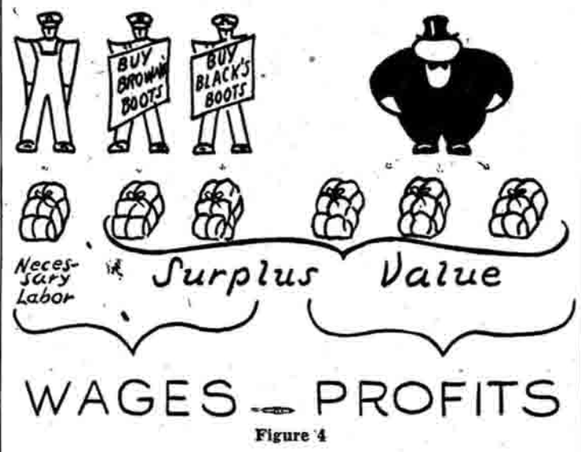


Figure 4

At first glance it seems that the increase in efficiency has been swallowed up, and nothing has changed. Wages are no higher, the standard of living is no better, profits are no higher, total output is no higher. The only apparent change is in the transfer of more and more workers to unproductive labor.

In fact, the workers are robbed of more than appears on the surface. Here are three workers, each capable of producing six bales, but each getting only one bale. Together they do enough work to produce 18 bales, yet the national output still remains only six bales. The capitalists allow three bales as wages, take three bales as profit, and in effect, throw away 12 bales in non-production, by transferring two-thirds of the labor force to competitive waste.

All around us we see poverty although we know we could produce abundance. Marx's law of labor-value shows why this is inevitable as long as capitalism remains.

Next Installment: More on Capitalist Waste.

Capitalist Waste of Human Labor

By V. Grey

The capitalists grind out their profits from the sweat and blood of the working class. In this they are no different from the rulers of old. Both feudal lords and ancient patricians lived on the sweat of the lowly.

But capitalism, as we have pointed out, is a different SYSTEM. Unlike the slave-owner, who was content to have his hundred slaves, each to serve his various whims, the capitalist must expand or die. Chattel slavery and the feudal system stayed the same or nearly the same for hundreds of years. Not so the capitalist system.

It does not matter whether the capitalist is personally greedy, or whether he wants to exchange champagne baths for whole swimming pools of champagne, or whether he is a nice likeable old lad like the father of the rich heroine in a technicolor movie. Regardless of these things, his hired managers and superintendents must whip his thousands of slaves into ever faster production. And the bulk of the surplus value produced by these slaves must be turned into more capital, more machines—constant capital—more contradictions for the capitalist system.

Consider the history of the American steel industry in the last few years:

In 1929, the top peacetime production year, the American steel industry, then worth two billion dollars, produced 45 million tons of steel. The steel magnates then made a 10 per cent profit, or more than 200 million dollars! In 1932 they produced and sold one third as much as in 1929—15 million tons of steel. But they did not make one third as much profit. They lost. And they lost over 70 million dollars!

Their capacity had grown. They had the equipment to make 75 million tons of steel but no markets to sell it in. Some other countries' industries had the markets. The answer was war.

But in the course of war, more expansion of plants and machinery was necessary — not to take care of the markets they were going to mooch into, but in order to make the instruments of war.

By 1944 the productive capacity was **96 million tons!** And the total value of the steel plants was over 4 billion dollars. They made more profits than in 1929, but the **percentage** of profit was lower.

The important thing is that if only 45 million tons (the top production of peace time before the war) are produced in any year now — the likelihood is that instead of there being 10 per cent or 5 per cent profit, there will be a loss of hundreds of millions of dollars!

What does this mean? It means that the American steel industry must capture peacetime markets that it never had before. It means that the steel plants of other nations must be destroyed. It means still another imperialist war!

Progress has turned into decline. Capitalism expanded once. But now it **only** tries to expand with a trillion dollar war, that drains its own blood as well as its slave. And it then keeps on declining.

While destroying the steel plants of other nations, the capitalists enlarge the hungry belly of their own productive capacity — they destroy their whole economy as well. They destroy the buying power of their enemies as well as the producing power. They destroy their own customers as well as their competitors.

In its attempt to pump fresh blood into its dying system, capitalism resembles a patient getting a transfusion from his left arm into his right and during the process, losing nine-tenths of the blood on the ground.

To be concluded next week.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WORKERS BACK CAPITALIST CANDIDATES

The political hatchet-men who head the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party and the Communist (Stalinist) Party are becoming expert at sinking the blade in labor's back.

These three parties claim to represent a huge section of New York workers. But instead of trying to put labor's own candidates in office, all three outfits are once again backing Wall Street's machine politicians, staking the money and energy of their rank and file on Mead and Lehman.

How this policy pays off can be seen in the case of O'Dwyer, who was eased into the mayor's chair in New York last year with labor votes. O'Dwyer has not rendered one single service for labor. He has defended Wall Street's interests with a devotion and loyalty not matched since the hey-day of Tammany Hall's brass-knuckle rule.

DOUBLES SALES-TAX

No sooner had he got the mayor's chair warmed up, than he raised the city sales tax a cool 100 per cent—from one cent to two cents on the dollar. This tax is chiefly shaken out of the pockets of the great mass of working class people who were blandly told by the Stalinists and ALP that O'Dwyer was their friend.

Barely in office a couple of months, he tried out his hand at smashing a strike. The Western Union workers couldn't keep up with the rising cost of living. They were forced to strike. O'Dwyer courteously helped out the telegraph monopolists by ordering his club-swinging cops to escort scabs through the picket lines.

This cub of the old Tammany tiger, whom the Stalinists and the ALP had ballyhooed as a "friend of labor," next tried out his milk teeth as mayor on the tugboat men's strike.

He screamed about New York being on the verge of "starvation" and "freezing to death." He yowled so loud he panicked himself into shutting down the city for a day. Truman answered his political pal O'Dwyer sympathetically with a government order "seizing" the tugs.

ATTACKS TEAMSTERS

O'Dwyer's latest attack on the labor movement came during the teamster's strike. Although he gained office through Stalinist and ALP support, O'Dwyer tried to break the teamsters' strike with vicious red-baiting. He said a bunch of "reds" were at the bottom of this long over-due strike for decent pay and decent working conditions.

O'Dwyer expanded the police force immediately on taking office. In the Western Union strike he marshalled 750 cops against 20 pickets—the biggest mobilization of police-strike-breakers in the city's history. Now in the teamsters' strike, he added another 2,000 cops and ranted threateningly about "bloodshed and injury."

These painful experiences with the Democratic mayor, however, have not disturbed the hatchet-men who head the CP, the ALP and the Liberal Party. They are in the profession of peddling labor votes to Wall Street. And so they are now repeating this policy by backing Mead and Lehman.

How will this new sell-out pay off?

Already the Stalinists have got an installment on account for their support of Mead, the head of the Democratic ticket. This Wall Street spokesman calmly, deliberately and cynically put his Stalinist cheering squad in the camp of the Ku Klux Klan and repudiated their support.

If Mead is capable of a kick in the stomach like this before election, what can be expected from him after he's securely in office and has tossed his campaign promises in the waste-basket?

SWP Veterans Ask Basic Changes In Army's Court-Martial System

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, Sept. 14—A vigorous condemnation of the Army's court-martial system, and a demand for radical changes that would give soldiers on trial a chance to get some justice, were made by two spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party appearing before the War Department's Advisory Committee on Military Justice at the U. S. Court House here last Tuesday afternoon.

The Committee, appointed by the War Department and requested to make recommendations for changes in the Army's court-martial system, has been holding open hearings in various cities, at which interested parties could present their views.

The Socialist Workers Party was represented at the hearings by two veterans of World War II: George Breitman, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from New Jersey, and Milton Richardson, SWP candidate for Lt.-Governor of New York.

Three members of the Advisory Committee, selected by the American Bar Association, were listening to testimony when the SWP spokesmen got the floor. The Committee was assisted by an Army one-star general representing the War Department. Most of the testimony was given by the lawyers who had served in the Army and wanted to suggest various reforms in the court-martial system; many of their remarks seemed to be half-apologies for that system.

Against this background the remarks of Breitman and Richardson stood out as especially clear and constructive. The hearing certainly livened up while they had the floor. At one point during their testimony the general almost swallowed his store-teeth in confusion and dismay.

Breitman, who had spent two years in the Army in Europe, led off.

OUTSTANDING FACT

"The outstanding characteristic of the court-martial system," he said, "is that it is intended primarily to maintain discipline and not to administer justice. It doesn't say that in the Articles of War, but that is the fact. That is the fact that stood out above all others, and it is the fact that we should be concerned with, not the fancy fictions.

"This fact was understood by every commanding officer, and this fact is the explanation for the thousands of miscarriages of justice in military trials in World War II.

"It explains why soldiers were court-martialled in some cases and not even reprimanded in others, although the same offenses were charged in both.

"It explains why there were such widely different punishments issuing from courts-martial called to consider identical offenses.

"It explains the disproportionately severe sentences which have come to be associated with courts-martial — so severe that a great portion of them were necessarily reduced when reviewed.

"It explains also why most courts-martial had such a cut-and-dried character. It was a commonplace in the U. S. Army that no enlisted man on charges was considered innocent until proved guilty. He was, in fact, generally considered guilty if his commanding officer considered him guilty.

RADICAL CHANGE

"For these reasons," Breitman went on, "it is not sufficient to merely amend or superficially revise the court-martial system. What is necessary is a radical change in the whole structure — a change will remove from the hands of the officer corps control over the functions of prosecutor, judge and jury. In short, what is necessary in all cases involving serious offenses is the separation of the Army from the functions of trial and punishment."

Breitman then went ahead with the major proposal he had come to make:

"For these reasons we are here to propose the complete abolition of the general court-martial, and the institution of a system of civilian court trial for soldiers charged with serious offenses."

At this point one of the members of the Advisory Committee began to blow his top, and to wave the flag at the same time.

"What do you mean?" he demanded. "Would you want a man who has committed a crime to be taken out of the front lines, leaving the other soldiers, who hadn't committed any crime, to remain there and die? Is that what you mean? Is that your idea?"

"LIKE ANY CITIZEN"

When the Committee member had subsided a little, Breitman went ahead to explain more concretely what he proposed. The proposition could be divided into two parts, he asserted.

First, there was the case of soldiers in the United States. Surely, he said, there could be no practical obstacle to prevent their being given trials, just as any other citizen would be, in the civilian courts. Breitman paused, and no one objected, so he proceeded.

In the second place, there was the case of soldiers serving overseas. For them he proposed the extension of civilian court trial and procedure, with civilian judges, and juries to be selected either from among American civilians or from among the members of the armed forces.

Again, the Committee member objected:

"So that's what you propose—to have a lot of delay for court trial and so on, while the fighting is going on and men are losing their lives?" and so on and so on.

"In cases involving serious offenses," Breitman replied, "where you are considering serious punishment, then I certainly maintain that the proper time and attention should be given to consideration of the merits of the case."

At this the Committee member relapsed in to silence. Since there were no other questions, Richardson took the floor.

RICHARDSON SPEAKS

Milton Richardson had spent four years in the Army, two of them in the thick of the European campaign, where he was wounded. He still limps from this wound, and still bears, like scars on his mind, the memory of the Jim-Crow treatment Negro soldiers received in "the most democratic Army in the world."

Richardson began by expressing support for the proposal of civilian court trial for serious offenses.

"But, of course, not all offenses are serious," he said, "and we do not propose to clutter up civilian courts with cases involving sentences of six months' imprisonment or less.

"Consequently, I want to take up the other two kinds of court-martial now in effect: The summary court-martial, involving fine and restriction but no imprisonment; and the special court-martial, involving punishment up to, but not exceeding, six months' imprisonment.

"The summary court-martial is, on the face of it, the least democratic of all courts-martial. A single officer, appointed by the commanding officer, merely listens to the witnesses and then makes the decision, generally the way the commanding officer wants it made.

"We propose the complete abolition of the summary court-martial, and the institution of only one court-martial combining the powers of both the present summary and special courts-martial. But this single court-martial body, we propose, shall be constituted differently than the present court-martial bodies are.

"At present, as you know, the jury is composed exclusively of officers. The result is that generally members of the court-martial body are subservient to the commanding officer who appointed them. This is one of the chief sources of military injustice. We propose the following:

"That the court-martial jury be composed completely of soldiers who are **NOT** of higher rank than the defendant. Only in this way can you have the democratic right of trial by a jury of your peers.

"For example, if a staff sergeant was on trial, no one would sit on the jury who was higher in rank than staff sergeant. If a captain was on trial, no one would sit on the jury who outranked a captain. And so on."

INTERRUPTION

The chairman of the Advisory Committee interrupted then and said: "Just a minute, you mean that a sergeant would be tried by privates? Do you think that would be fair? How would you like that if you were a sergeant?"

Richardson, who had been a staff sergeant, answered: "I would like that fine. You would have a better Army that way."

The chairman still did not think such a procedure would be "fair." Apparently, he preferred the present set-up, where all enlisted men are tried by officers.

"Similarly," Richardson continued, "in connection with Negro soldiers, we propose that Negroes be permitted to sit on court-martial juries, especially where Negro soldiers are being tried."

The chairman interrupted again: "All-Negro juries, do you mean?"

"No," said Richardson, "I mean that they shall have the same right to sit on juries as other soldiers." And then he went ahead to conclude:

"To be effective and prevent pressure on them, men on juries should be chosen from units other than those involved in the trials.

"What is required, therefore, is a new set of Articles of War and Court-Martial Manuals, not merely a few piddling reforms.

"Only in this way can you insure genuine justice in the armed forces and put an end to the abuses which are responsible for this hearing today."

Army Court Martial

"Well—what have you to say for yourself?"

Chicago Jim-Crow Terrorism Hits Other Racial Groups

By Robert L. Birchman

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, Sept. 13. — The wave of terrorism against Negroes here is now being extended to include Mexicans and Chinese.

Adrian Lazano, an architectural draftsman of Mexican descent, and his wife moved into a flat at 907 S. Loomis St., on Sept. 7. There are numerous Mexicans and Negroes two blocks away, but the neighborhood announced: "We won't tolerate you." Late that evening, two windows were broken. The next morning the landlord asked them to move.

Two men and a woman entered the Jane Lee Restaurant, a Chinese restaurant at 1205 East 55th St. on the night of Sept. 6. Mrs. Lee pointed out that it was nearly 10 p.m., when the restaurant closed. Using abusive language, one of the white men, later identified as R. Blacksley, attacked Mr. Lee, knocking him down and blackening his eyes. His friend held down one of the other Chinese, while Mr. Lee was beaten up.

Meanwhile the wave of terror against Negroes continues unabated. Mrs. M. Crawford and Mrs. Almedia Cauley who live at 329 W. 22nd Place, were advised by the owner, Paul Young, to move. He stated that he had been warned by John Becker, 312 W. 22nd Place, that his building would be burned if the Negroes were not evicted.

Two men forced their way at the point of a gun into the apartment of Mrs. Martha Johnson, 329 W. 22nd Place, after her 16-year-old daughter, Laura, opened the door. They ransacked the apartment, claiming they were searching for weapons. "We are going to run all the niggers out," they stated, "and we don't want them to have anything to fight back with." They attacked Mrs. Johnson and threatened to shoot all the Negroes that they didn't burn out.

A Negro entertainer was brutally beaten and thrown through a plate-glass window by white hoodlums in Calumet City. The police arrested the victim, William Hays, according to the **Chicago Defender.**

Hays stated that when he went into a restaurant and asked to be served, "I was hit over the head with a bottle. As I staggered, several white men picked me up and threw me through the plate glass window of the front door."

Hays and other members of a quartette were seeking employment at the night clubs in Calumet City. "We were told by the management that Negroes are not allowed to enter their places."

The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations in a recent press release, reports that their records show that from Feb. 26 through Aug. 31 this year, there were 17 cases of Negro homes set afire, two of them a second time while police were on "guard." There were six reports of assaults on Negroes on the streets, and three clashes on publici beaches.

Arrests were made in only two of the incendiary cases, and none in the cases of assaults. In another case where a white man was found pouring gasoline on the steps of a hotel occupied by Negroes, he was given probation.

Stock Market Slump Reveals Wall Street's View Of Future

(Continued from Page 1)

sustain the economy, the capitalists are required to invest over $20 billion dollars annually in plants and equipment. They are spending only half that. Where is the market for expanded production?

Certainly, not in this country. V-J Day saw a sharp decline in total wages, with the elimination of overtime, mass lay-offs downgrading, shorter hours. No subsequent wage increases have compensated for this slash. Simultaneously, the war-born inflation, the devouring war debt and taxes, eat deep chunks out of mass purchasing power. The workers cannot buy back what they produce—while the monopolists withhold commodities for higher prices.

GLUT BEGINS

And on Aug. 27, the Department of Commerce reported the beginnings of the glut that sooner or later means closed-down factories and mass unemployment. Value of manufacturers' inventories reached an all-time high in July of nearly 18 billion dollars.

The source of Wall Street's despairing outlook is the possibilities of lowered profits. Next year, the profits tax rebates will end. Carry-back provisions will cease to operate. And, as one financial commentator let slip in the Sept. 5 **N. Y. Times:** "Prices are too high, real wages in terms of purchasing power are too low . . . " The domestic market is shrinking.

"Where the stock market is concerned it's always tomorrow's profits that determine today's prices," says **Business Week,** Sept. 14. For tomorrow's profits, Wall Street wants further inflation of prices and further slashing of wages. But—the mighty American labor movement stands astride its path.

Where to turn? More and more Wall Street beats the drum for a new war adventure. Its promises of peace, plenty and security under capitalism can find only one fulfillment: Atomic annihilation in World War III.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

By William Bohannon

SWP Candidate for Congress, 11th District, N. J.

The Record of Congress

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has published in the Aug.-Sept. issue of **NAACP Bulletin** a record of how the members of the 79th Congress acted on 11 bills and petitions of importance to the Negro people.

These measures included the poll tax, FEPC, price control, housing for veterans, employment, the Case anti-labor bill, protection of agricultural packing workers, minimum wages, free school lunches, civil liberties and anti-lynching legislation.

Every Negro voter should acquaint himself with how the members of Congress acted on these questions and the **NAACP Bulletin** serves a useful function in making this easy. The Congressmen's names, parties and states are given, and alongside them are shown minus-signs indicating where they voted wrong, and plus-signs where they voted right.

The first thing that strikes you as you look through the almost four pages of this record is the fact that the great majority of the marks are minus-signs. Look a little closer, and you see that in this respect there is no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. Most of both of them are on the wrong side of the fence.

CLOSE CHECK

Having a few spare minutes, I checked the record even more closely. In the Senate, where 96 names are listed, the NAACP found that only 11 voted right every time. An additional six voted right on the issues where they committed themselves openly; but on some issues they either were absent or "paired" with someone voting the opposite way, so that neither had to show how he was voting.

In the House of Representatives where 433 names are shown, only 31 voted right on every issue, while 57 voted right on some issues and were either absent or paired on other issues. (It goes without saying that some of these absences were "convenient" and that the purpose of pairing is usually not to show a bad vote on the record.)

Even if all these are given the benefit of the doubt — and they shouldn't be — then less than one-fifth of Congress as a whole could be counted to vote as the majority of the people wanted them to vote. (Without the doubtful ones, it would be less than one-tenth.) And this is the Congress some labor and Negro leaders told us was "progressive" less than two short years ago!

Even that doesn't give the whole picture. After all, there were a great many important issues besides the 11 picked by the NAACP. What about the questions of foreign policy? How many took the right stand on policies leading inevitably to another world war? How many fought to withdraw American troops from foreign soil? How many tried to get independence for Puerto Rico and other American colonies?

If we had the record on these and similar questions, then we would see the truth: The Negro people and their allies in the labor movement have virtually no representatives they can count on in Congress.

THE LESSON

What is the lesson to be drawn from all this? The **NAACP Bulletin** says: "Elect better men to Congress!" Sounds simple, doesn't it? So simple that it makes you wonder how such a gang of anti-Negro, anti-labor politicians got into office in the first place.

The NAACP as an organization refuses to engage in politics. (It might lose some of its rich white "friends" if it did.) All it does is print the record. But when a Negro goes to the voting booth, he has to make a decision — that is, he has to engage in politics. The question is: What kind of politics?

The members of Congress are not merely individuals, who happen to vote one way or another just because they are "better" politicians. Above all, they are members of political parties — chosen by those parties, pledged to the programs of those parties, responsible to those party machines. And the thing common to them all is that they engage in **capitalist party politics.**

That is what the Negro has to remember as he goes to the polls. The government is run by two capitalist parties, and the record shows they are both the stooges of Wall Street and the enemies of the working people. The thing to do is to break with both of them, refuse to support the candidates of either of them. We will gain our second emancipation by supporting the independent labor candidates, white and Negro, who strive to create a Workers and Farmers Government.

Stalinist Machine Retains Control At UE Convention

(Special to The Militant)

MILWAUKEE, WIS., Sept. 13—The Stalinist machine was easily able to defeat the bid for power made by the red-baiting group known as "UE for Democratic Action" at the 11th Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, third largest CIO union, which was held here this week.

The Stalinists had no serious difficulties in retaining their grasp on the union leadership because the opposition had no program of its own, other than red-baiting. Led by Harry Block, president of the UE District 1 and James Click of Local 1102, St. Louis, the "UE for Democratic Action" group had nothing to offer the delegates but witch-hunt resolutions against "communists."

This even placed the Stalinist bureaucrats in the position where they could pose as the champions of democracy by reaffirming the union's position to unite all the workers of the industry into the union "regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed or political belief."

WIN POSTS

Although former UE President James B. Carey, now CIO secretary-treasurer, threw his full support behind the red-baiters, the Stalinists won the elections for the three top posts by an overwhelming majority. President Albert Fitzgerald got 3,092 votes to 525 for Harry Block; Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak got 2,994 to James Click's 554; Organization Director James Matles received 2,997 to Bartholomew Enright's 556.

As a result of the complexion given to the convention by the fight over this question, there was little discussion of the important issues facing the 550,000 members of the union. Nevertheless, a number of delegates were able to get the floor and make progressive proposals, especially on political issues.

Four different locals presented the convention with resolutions calling for the creation of an independent labor party, and three called for a "third party" organized by the trade unions.

Camden RCA Local 103, for example, declared:

"We have already been put off too long by the lame excuse that 'the time is not ripe' for a labor party; therefore be it resolved that we want an Independent Labor Party NOW!"

A delegate from Local 301 stated that "the people we elected slammed the door in our face when we asked them for a little favor."

Thomas Fitzpatrick, Westinghouse Local 601 of East Pittsburgh, who gave general support to the policies of the UE leaders, stated: "We are sick and tired of backing the lesser of two evils. This is just sweating and working for company unions.

"We find that after we sweated and worked for Congressmen, we have got to go down to Washington to keep them in line and we don't keep them in line most of the time. We must look toward a people's labor party."

Jack Kroll, head of CIO-PAC, was present to swing support to the policy of endorsing capitalist candidates. In this task he was joined not only by James Carey but the Stalinist UE leaders as well.

To make this position look a little more palatable to the delegates, the Stalinists tacked on a section to their PAC resolution.

This part said that the election of "people's candidates" (meaning Democrats and Republicans) in 1946 "will lay the basis for a People's Party in 1948 if the Republican and Democratic Parties continue to refuse to heed the will of the American people."

WAGE POLICY

A resolution on UE Wage Policy continues the CIO leaders' policy of stalling on the fight for immediate wage raises to offset the rise in living costs. It calls for united action by the UE, United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers and other CIO unions sometime in the future when wage raises will be sought.

In the discussion the Stalinists also took the opportunity to attack the growing movement for a sliding scale of wages or cost-of-living bonus to compensate the workers for rising living costs. As usual, they used demagogic arguments and falsified the real purpose of the sliding scale of wages.

The Stalinists also backtracked on the incentive pay sell-out they pushed so strongly during the war. Without apologizing or explaining their previous scabby role they called for safeguards, no further introduction of incentive pay, and establishment of day work. The 30-hour week and a guaranteed annual wage were also endorsed.

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OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—For information write to Eloise Gordon, Box 2099, Pittsburgh 30, Pa.

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Housing Crisis In New Jersey

By Alan Kohlman

SWP Candidate for Governor of New Jersey

While thousands of homeless veterans and workers are clamoring for housing in New Jersey, two luxury race tracks have been rushed to completion under the benevolent blessings of the Republican-Edge administration. The State Legislature buried in committee an emergency housing appropriation for 10 million dollars, but three-quarters of this sum has been poured into the Atlantic City and Monmouth Park tracks.

The 3½ million dollar Atlantic track was rushed to completion while only a mile away, work on a veterans' emergency housing unit has almost ceased for "lack of materials." This sharp contrast between state treatment for gamblers and state indifference to the veterans sums up the entire matter.

The 1939 referendum which again legalized racing was pushed through by a bloc of the Democratic - Hague and Republican - "Nocky" Johnson forces. So far both boss parties have failed to take any decisive action for housing. Here, again, the workers and veterans have a striking lesson in how the Republicans and Democrats bloc together to aid gambling interests while they sabotage housing. When public pressure forced publication of the names of the Monmouth track stockholders, a large number of politicians of the county were found to be share-holders!

Thus while there is air-conditioning for these elaborate tracks, there have only been 10 homes for emergency housing built under state auspices.

As far back as August, 1945, the State CIO urged Governor Edge to call a special session of the Legislature on housing and price control. Edge refused. Since that time one veteran's organization after another has insisted on state action. Nothing has been done.

Within the past three weeks, Edge has twice again refused demands of veteran organizations for a special session. Edge blames the shortage of supplies, he blames the Democrats in Washington, he blames his opponents for "unfair criticism" — in fact, he blames everyone but himself and his Administration for permitting the aggravation of a most serious housing crisis.

The strongly organized racing interests, like the even more powerful corporations, have Edge on their side. But the veterans are organizing and consolidating too. And heavy mass pressure has now forced the Republicans to finally consider a special session on housing before the elections, for fear of "impairing their chances in November." I doubt, however, that many veterans or workers will place much confidence in the election promises of the Republicans.

Rather, the heavy pressure which has forced Edge to promise a special session carries its own lesson — that only organized mass action by the unions and veterans can bring relief

The Generals And The Admirals

By George Breitman

Generals and admirals are used to having their own way. That fact, and the fact that they are surrounded with yes-men who do not dare to dispute their stupidest remarks, account for their often saying what they think. In this respect they are a little different from politicians, who are trained generally not to say what they think.

"It's nobody's damn business where we go; we will go anywhere we please." That's what Admiral Halsey said last month, and that's exactly what he meant. He was answering the criticism about the U.S. Navy's fleet going to Greece. He meant it was not the Soviet Union's business — or Greece's; he also meant it was the business only of the U.S. government and the brass hats. That is, it wasn't the business of the American people.

The same idea was expressed by General Eisenhower a few days later. Former War Production Chairman Donald P. Nelson had just published a book revealing that the Army had tried to take over the country's economy during the war. Eisenhower denied this, adding as a clincher: "The Army wants no domination of anything but its own affairs."

When Eisenhower says "the Army," he of course means the big brass. But since when has the brass got the right to "dominate" even the affairs of the Army? Isn't Congress alone supposed to have that right?

Yes, Congress is supposed to, but more and more the brass hats are taking over. Long before Congress voted to authorize the Bikini atomic bomb maneuvers, the admirals had picked the men, the ships and the place, and had the project three-quarters completed.

Congress adjourned without acting on the "Inter-American Military Cooperation Bill" to integrate al lof Latin America into the U. S. military machine. But Eisenhower has just returned from a Latin-American tour where he made arrangements for executing this plan despite Congress' failure to approve it.

The generals and admirals sincerely think that the military way of life is the best. All they have to do is issue commands, and millions of people have to execute them. No fuss, no bother, no back-talk, no "labor trouble." Could anything be more efficient? No one had more admiration for the way Mussolini "made the trains run" than the brass hats. They would like to "make the country run" that way too. And the world.

The labor movement had better open its eyes and see what is going on. The brass hats who tried to take over the country during the war have not changed their colors. The danger of military dictatorship remains — and will grow as the threat of a Third World War grows. Either labor will curb the expanding power and arrogance of the generals and the admirals, or all of labor's rights and gains will be threatened.

Veterans' Problems

Why Vets Have "Mental Disturbances"

By Alvin Royce

A short while ago the Army announced that 500,000 men had been discharged for "mental disturbances." Just the other day the Veterans Administration added that "three out of five claims for disability pensions are neuro-psychiatric in origin." By far the most abused of the war casualties have been those vets whom the Army terms "mentally disturbed."

Nowhere in any of their announcements do the Army or the Veterans Administration explain what causes all these "mental disturbances" or how they intend to cure them.

Psychiatrists say the major cause for mental illness in the Army was the inability of the GI to adjust himself to his "new and strange surroundings." Think back at what was hard to adjust to in the Army. It wasn't the training you got with weapons, map reading or how to camouflage your gun position. The GI had a special word for what really bothered him. It was "chicken."

Who could adjust himself to being restricted to the barracks for a week because someone in the platoon left his shoes untied? Or having to clean stoves till three in the morning because you forgot to say "sir" to an officer when you met him outside the PX? You may sometimes forget how to assemble a rifle in the Army but there is no ex-GI who can say he forgot for one moment in the Army that officers were "gentlemen" and enlisted men were only second-class citizens.

But the GI's second-class citizenship didn't end when he left the Army. Veterans are the lowest-paid and the last-hired of all workers. USES reports that of all veterans sent out for jobs, 4 per cent are hired while 7 per cent of all non-veterans are hired. Homeless vets must walk the streets while night club and race track owners pay black market prices for the building materials vets so desperately need. Then the vet finds that decent clothing and furniture are unavailable even if he manages to raise the fabulous prices these items bring today.

The proposed solution to this problem given by the New York Veterans Service Committee, with offices on swanky Park Avenue, is a half dozen more doctors. Adequate medical treatment for needy veterans is absolutely necessary, of course, but medical treatment alone is not the solution.

You also need to put an end in the Army to the caste system and outside the Army to the system of unemployment and shortages of housing and other necessities.

On The Railroads

Who Wants Amalgamation?

By Henry Adams

The strength of the movement for amalgamation of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is best demonstrated in the fact that it is forcing the top railway labor bureaucrats to move.

In the August issue of the BLF&E magazine, President D. F. Robertson is suddenly very concerned over the evil effects of dual unions for enginemen. He points out that the division weakens the enginemen in every fight. He bemoans the wastefulness of separate headquarters, separate staffs of officers and Grand Lodge personnel, separate convention, separate Divisions and Lodges, separate Local and General Grievance Committees and Legislative Boards.

He laments the policy of raiding other unions with no actual increase in the organized strength of railway labor. And he poses the question of amalgamation, asking the members to send in an attached postcard expressing their views.

Progressive unionists, who for years have fought the splitting, craft-ridden organizing policies of Robertson and his kind, will ask themselves: Why Robertson's sudden interest in unity? Why does he now admit that the $475,000 spent by the BLF&E in 1946 for organizing was "money thrown down a rat hole?" Why does he pretend it is necessary to get a postcard expression of opinion from the members?

The answer is not hard to find. For the first time, the demands of the ranks for amalgamation has found a really democratic organizational instrument in the Consolidation Committee of Enginemen. In less than six months, the CCE has spread to the major railroad centers. In July alone, new Districts were organized in Chicago, Grand Rapids, Portland, New Orleans, Brewster, O., Round Lake, N. Y. The rapid-fire growth of the CCE is serving notice on the bureaucrats that this time the men are determined that the movement for consolidation is not going to be derailed.

David Robertson sees this, too. His bureaucratic control, his do-nothing policy—yes, likely, his soft job—are at stake.

Actually, as a CCE bulletin points out, "Robertson does not want consolidation; he just wants to give it lip-service to try to fool us a while longer . . . While he speaks about consolidation with his tongue in his cheek, he takes actions which can do nothing but drive the wedge deeper to split the organizations . . . At his Cleveland office he proceeds to appoint 30 more General organizers to send out in the field and raid the BLE and keep the pot boiling . . . and deepen the split . . ."

"We say the leaders will not make a serious or honest attempt to consolidate the two organizations . . . a large number of high-paying jobs are at stake and the leaders don't intend doing anything which will eliminate some of these jobs . . . We say the members should join with us in the CCE and we will hammer out a program which will consolidate the two organizations at the next conventions in spite of any Grand Lodge Officer or Officers that try to block CONSOLIDATION."

California Socialist Workers Party Names Roberts For Governor, Rogalin For Senate

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 13. — The California District of the Socialist Workers Party, represented by delegates from branches in Northern and Southern California, last week nominated Steve Roberts as candidate for Governor and Cynthia Rogalin as candidate for State Senator in a write-in campaign in the November elections. This week an additional candidate for State Senator will be nominated from the San Francisco Bay Area. $1,000 in cash and pledges was raised as an initial fund at the enthusiastic opening election meeting on Sept. 8.

Steve Roberts, a veteran of World War I, is well known in local circles for his participation in the building of the original CIO in this area. He was secretary of the committee for the defense of 400 Douglas aircraft workers arrested in the early CIO sit-down strike. He is an active member of the NAACP, and has been in the Trotskyist movement for more than ten years.

Roberts' opponent, Governor Earl Warren, is running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. He won both nominations by cross-filing in the primary election. Notorious for his reactionary policies, Warren is in every sense a candidate of the Chamber of Commerce which serves both capitalist parties.

Cynthia Rogalin, candidate for State Senator, formerly a member of the UAW-CIO, is a cannery worker, and a member of the Seafarers International Union. During the war she was a member of the AFL Boilermakers union at Calship, where she fought for admitting Negroes into the union on full equality, and for the abolition of Jim-Crow practices.

Comrade Rogalin is running against Senator Tenney, head of the California "Little Dies" committee. She will be his only opponent for the office, as Tenney also is running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Because of the reactionary nature of California election laws, which require almost a quarter of a million signatures of registered voters who did not vote in the primary, the SWP candidates will campaign on a write-in ballot.

A series of radio broadcasts and public meetings is being planned and will be announced within a week.

Minnesota SWP Candidates To Speak On Radio

Three Weekly Talks Scheduled for October

ST. PAUL, Minn., Sept. 12 —A contract was signed here today with Radio Station WMIN for three 15-minute radio talks to be made by the Socialist Workers Party candidates. C. K. Johnson, campaign manager, announced that Warren Creel, SWP candidate for 3rd District Congressman, would speak on Oct. 15 at 10:30 p.m.; Grace Carlson, candidate for U. S. Senator, on Oct. 22, 10:30 p.m.; and Dorothy Schultz, candidate for 4th District Congressman, on Oct. 29 at 10:30 p.m.

PLAN DISTRIBUTION

Plans are also underway for a state-wide distribution of the special Minnesota election edition of **The Militant**. 30,000 copies of this election edition have been ordered. Several thousand of these will be distributed in the working class neighborhoods of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Motor caravans will visit smaller industrial towns in Minnesota and many farming communities to distribute other thousands of copies of the SWP campaign paper.

On October 5 a Campaign Carnival will be held in the Minneapolis SWP headquarters to raise funds for the campaign. Additional funds are being solicited from members and friends of the SWP in Minnesota. **Militant** readers are asked to send contributions to the campaign headquarters, 10 South 4th Street, Minneapolis 1, or 540 Cedar Street, St. Paul 2.

Kohlman Hits Strikebreaking Threat By Edge

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 11—Governor Edge's threat to use state police against striking truck drivers was bitterly denounced by Alan Kohlman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor, in a statement widely quoted in the local press.

"LOOKS OTHER WAY"

"Every time labor or the veterans need something, Governor Edge looks the other way," the SWP candidate declared. "But every time the unions must fight for their rights, Edge is on hand with a club.

"Over the united protest of the entire union movement, he jammed the strikebreaking S-91 Bill down the unions' throats. In the recent cannery dispute in Camden, he was busily engaged in preparing to break the strike by shifting supplies to other canneries. Now he is threatening the truck drivers.

ANTI-LABOR

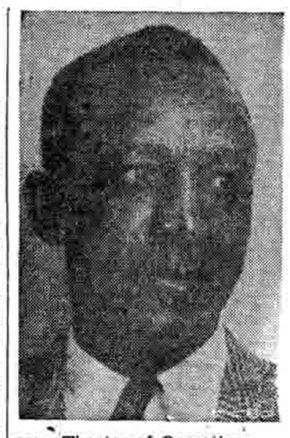
"This anti-labor activity of the Governor is in marked contrast to the fact that he can find no time to draft a workable plan for housing. Likewise, he could not find time to call a special session as requested by the CIO, to handle rent and price control.

"New York's Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer vies with Republican Governor Edge in threatening force against the striking truck drivers. All organized workers and veterans must protest and must use their votes to put an end to the strikebreaking policies of both Republicans and Democrats."

MEET THE SWP CANDIDATES

Milton Richardson

Candidate for Lt. Governor of New York State



Milton Joseph Richardson was born in New Iberia, Louisiana in 1913. He attended school there and made history his favorite subject.

Like most Negro youth in the deep South, Richardson went to work at an early age. His employment record reads like a list of Louisiana's industries and agricultural products. He worked in the salt mines, rice fields, sugar fields and on railroad labor gangs. During the depression of the 1930's, he participated in demonstrations for jobs and unemployment relief in Louisiana. Later he left the South and joined the Dining Car Waiters Union, AFL.

For four years he rode the trains, waiting on tables and suffering the Jim Crow practices and segregation which he had sought to escape in the South. In 1938 he joined the Socialist Workers Party and became one of its active members.

When World War II began, Richardson took advantage of the opportunity to learn an industrial trade and became a welder, joining the Boilermakers' Union, AFL. In 1942 he was drafted and served two years overseas in Signal Corps, Anti-Aircraft and Quartermaster Truck companies in the European Theater of Operations.

In Europe, he witnessed the terrible slaughter and destruction of war. The French language was no barrier to one born in Louisiana, and Richardson was able to carry on political discussions with hundreds of militant workers in France. The brass broke him from sergeant to private for fraternizing with European workers against Army orders.

Jim Crow and brutality in the Army only served to re-affirm the need for socialism. Immediately upon his return to the United States, Milton Richardson plunged once again into the active work of building the Socialist Workers Party in Harlem —The Ghetto of the Negro people in New York.

George Breitman

Candidate for U. S. Senate from New Jersey

George Breitman was born in Newark, N. J., in 1916. He entered the Trotskyist movement at the age of 19.

At the same time he became one of the leaders of the New Jersey unemployment movement. In 1936 he played a prominent role in the unemployed occupation of the State Legislature, which lasted for over a week. He wrote the pamphlet issued by the Workers Alliance, **The Trenton Siege by the Army of Unoccupation**, which recorded the history and significance of this demonstration.

Later that year he was arrested as one of the leaders of the Burlington County WPA strike, one of the few successful strikes of WPA workers in the country. Subsequently, he was elected State Administrative Secretary of the Workers Alliance. In this position he played an important part for many years in assisting local CIO and AFL unions on strike.

Breitman has written several pamphlets about the problems facing labor and the Negro people, the most recent being **Wartime Crimes of Big Business**, published just before he entered the Army in 1943. He was editor of **The Militant** from 1941 to 1943, and prior to that edited the **New Jersey Workers Voice** and **The Hunger Fighter**.

In 1940, 1941 and 1942 he was an anti-war candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for local and state office.

He was drafted into the Army in 1943 and spent two years as an enlisted man in the European Theater of Operations. At present he is writing a pamphlet on the Army.

Los Angeles Labor Organizes Demonstration Against Smith

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 13. — Three hundred workers here picketed a conference last Thursday at the Embassy Auditorium called by Gerald L. K. Smith. Called by the CIO Council, the picket line was given full support by the Socialist Workers Party.

Steve Roberts and Cynthia Rogalin, SWP candidates for Governor and State Senator, who were both on the picket line, issued the following joint statement:

"Smith must not be permitted to deliver his fascist attacks on labor and minority groups! More and more workers are coming to realize that passive resistance is not enough. Los Angeles labor is determined to stop Smith — in Minneapolis style. We are confident that Smith and his fascist cohorts will be driven from Los Angeles."

Prominent among the slogans on the picket line was: "We drove him out of Minneapolis — We'll drive him out of Los Angeles." This slogan referred to recent complete rout of Smith's forces by the aroused Minneapolis workers. Songs sung on the picket line included "Solidarity Forever," and "Hold the Fort."

Smith's conference was one of a series of five through which he plans to build up a mass meeting on Sunday, Sept. 22 at Polytechnic High School.

The Mobilization for Democracy, anti-fascist conference, arranged for different organizations to picket these meetings on each of the five days.

Smith was able to hold his series of conferences relatively unmolested, mainly because of the "hush-hush" policy of the Stalinists. Several CIO unionists reported that the Stalinists, who are in control of the leadership of the CIO, made no effort to rally the union forces. These workers found out about the picket line only through the Socialist Workers Party.

All anti-fascist forces are girding themselves for the demonstration which will take place on Sept. 22 at the Polytechnic High School. The MFD has endorsed the call for a picket line, which was unanimously passed at the last meeting of the CIO Council. This is a step forward since last year, when the Stalinists resisted a similar demand almost up to the last moment.

NEW YORK

Protest Anti-Negro Terror!

Speakers:

Milton Richardson
SWP Candidate for Lieut.-Gov.

Gloria Wall

Sandy Robertson

FRIDAY, SEPT. 20

116 University Place

Aus. Trotskyist Youth Group

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME .....
(Please Print)

STREET .....

CITY .....

POSTAL ZONE ..... ST .....

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage-clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!

2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!

7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!